



# ***Daily Report***

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## **Central Eurasia**

FBIS-SOV-93-240  
Thursday  
16 December 1993

# Daily Report

## Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-93-240

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16 December 1993

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## Preliminary Results

### Referendum, Federal Assembly Results Updated

LD1512213593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1609 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 15 Dec—Reports on the preliminary results of the referendum on the draft constitution of the Russian Federation and the elections to the country's Federal Assembly continue to come in.

In Novgorod Oblast 59.2 percent of the electorate took part in the referendum and the elections. The draft constitution was approved by 61.4 percent. Some 58.5 percent voted in the elections to the Federation Council. Among the blocs and parties the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] obtained most votes—26.8 percent. In second place was 'Russia's Choice' with 11.95 percent. Third was the Party of Russian Unity and Accord with nine percent.

The results of the ballot in the oblast were declared today at a news conference in Novosibirsk. The acting head of the oblast administration and the leader of the local 'Democratic Russia' were elected to the Federation Council, and among those elected as deputy to the Duma was Vasilii Lipitskiy, deputy director of the Institute of Sociopolitical Research of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Some 50.3 percent of the electorate supported the draft constitution.

The Central Electoral Commission of Kabardino-Balkaria has clarified the results of the ballot. Some 57 percent of the electorate took part. The vote count shows that Shakhrai's party—the PRUA [Party of Russian Unity and Accord]—won the most support in the republic—about 30 percent, followed by the Russian Federation Communist Party with about 20 percent, and then the Agrarian Party. In fourth place was Zhirinovskiy's party, and in fifth place was 'Russia's Choice.' Some 67 percent of those who voted said yes to the question of approving the constitution.

According to the confirmed reports of the Constituency Electoral Commission, the results of the elections and the referendum in Kursk Oblast were as follows. Some 63.5 percent of the electorate took part in the ballot. Some 43.4 percent voted in favor of the draft of the new constitution. The LDPR received 29.8 percent of the vote, the Russian Federation Communist Party, 18.1 percent, the Agrarian Party, 11.1 percent, 'Russia's Choice,' 10 percent, 'Women of Russia,' 4.8 percent, Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin, 4.6 percent, and Civic Accord in the name of Stability, Justice, and Progress, 1.2 percent.

First, reports say that most of the electorate in Tambov Oblast voted against the new draft constitution. Among the blocs and parties in the elections to the State Duma for two constituencies, the LDPR won the most votes,

second was the Russian Federation Communist Party, and third, the Agrarian Party. 'Russia's Choice' was fourth. All those elected in Tambov for the new parliament are representatives of the opposition.

The town of Tolyatti was the only one in Samara Oblast where the referendum on the draft constitution was declared invalid, although 69 percent of those who voted were in favor of the Basic Law. In the oblast as a whole, 55.3 percent of the electorate approved the draft constitution. In the oblast the LDPR won 18.8 percent of the vote, the Communist Party 15.6 percent, and 'Russia's Choice' 15.4 percent. After them came 'Women of Russia' with 9.6 percent and Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin with 8.2 percent. Considerably fewer votes—from 6.3 to 5.3 percent—were acquired by the DPR [Democratic Party of Russia], the Agrarian Party, and the PRUA.

### Breakdown by Party

LD1512234193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2038 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] Russia's Choice election bloc will be the most numerous faction in the State Duma, the lower chamber of the Federal Assembly. As Interfax learned from reliable sources, the bloc will have about 94 seats in the State Duma both by party rolls and single-mandate constituencies, according to preliminary reports.

Russia's Choice is followed by the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] faction led by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy which is likely to be represented by 78 deputies.

The two leaders are followed by the Communist Party of Russia—64 seats, Agrarian Party—55 seats, Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc—28 seats, independent deputies—27 seats, Russia's Women—24 seats, Party for Russian Unity and Concord—22 seats, Democratic Party of Russia—19 seats, Civic Union—18 seats from single-mandate constituencies, Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms—8 seats from single-mandate constituencies, Dignity and Mercy movement—3 seats from single-mandate constituencies and Russia's Future-New Names bloc—3 seats.

### Electoral Commission Figures

LD1612094193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0924 GMT 16 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow December 16 Tass—The Central Electoral Commission provided specified preliminary results in 186 out of 225 constituencies where elections were held on a list basis.

The Liberal Democratic Party: 23.44 percent

Russia's Choice: 14.74

The Communist Party: 13.23

The Agrarian Party: 8.56



The Women of Russia: 8.28

Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin: 7.51

The Party of Russian Unity and Accord: 6.82

Democratic Party of Russia: 5.45

Russian Movement of Democratic Reform: 3.92

Civic Union: 1.86

Future of Russia-New Names: 1.25

Constructive Ecology Movement: 0.72

Dignity and Charity: 0.69

### Voting Trends in Regions Detailed

#### Bashkortostan, Other Results

PM1512161193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 2

[Igor Lenskiy report: "Not Everyone Wants a President"]

[Excerpts] Murtaza Rakhimov, chairman of the Bashkortostan parliament, has been elected president of the republic. He polled 64 percent of the votes—twice as many as his rival R. Kadyrov, head of the "Vostok" commercial bank. [passage omitted]

The first round of voting for the presidency of Chuvashia did not produce an outright winner among the seven contenders. The best figures prior to the decisive round on 24 December were achieved by Nikolay Fedorov, former Russian justice minister (24.9 percent) and Lev Kurakov, rector of the Chuvash State University and president of the Chuvash Academy of Sciences (21.9 percent). E. Kubarev, chairman of the parliament and B. Yeltsin's protege [kreatura] in Chuvashia, was completely routed—he polled less than 4 percent of the vote.

Meanwhile, voters in Komi have decided that they do not need a president at all—that is the outcome of the republic's referendum.

The draft constitution of the Russian Federation did not receive support in Bashkortostan, Chuvashia, or Komi.

#### LDPR Wins in Tula

PM1512142593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Nikolay Kireyev report under the general heading: "Voters Made Their Choice"]

[Text] Tula—The preliminary results of the elections in Tula Oblast have plunged people into state of nervousness. Whereas there were no doubts about the support for the new constitution and this was borne out by the results of the referendum—over 58 percent of active voters voted "for"—the victory of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] came as a total surprise.

Observers point out that there was no particular campaigning in support of V. Zhirinovskiy's party in the oblast's cities and rayons. It managed without propaganda pamphlets. At the same time the whole of Tula was splattered with bright colorful "Russia's Choice" posters. Several vice premiers and ministers have paid visits here of late. You would have thought that victory for the ruling bloc should have been the natural, logical conclusion. But belief in promises of a cheap life of plenty proved preferable to the long wait for stabilization. And democratic leaders' self-confidence also did them a disservice.

Nor were the local authorities' predictions realized with regard to the Federation Council elections. Despite the mass media's sharp and sometimes tactless criticism of V. Starodubtsev, chairman of Novomoskovskiy Rayon's Lenin pedigree stock farm, and A. Titkin, former Russian industry minister, now president of the "Russian Technologies and Investments" finance and investment company, the pair defeated their rivals.

One last point. The LDPR's triumph did not cause the people of Tula to actively join its ranks.

#### Tambov Backs Opposition

LD1512222793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1600 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Tambov, 15 December, TASS—The Tambov region of Russia elected only opposition members to the new Russian parliament and voted down the Constitution.

According to preliminary results, former Russian People's Deputies Aleksandr Ryabov and Pavel Gorbunov were elected to the Federation Council, the upper chamber. Former member of the dissolved Supreme Soviet, Aleksey Ponomarev, was elected to the State Duma, as well as member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party Tamara Pletneva.

The pro-Yeltsin Russia's Choice ended the election race only on the fourth place in Tambov region ceding its positions to three conservative parties. The first was the Liberal Democratic Party, then came the Communist and the Agrarian parties.

#### Khabardino-Balkaria Supports PRUA

LD1512223793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1659 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow, 15 December, TASS—The Party of Russian Unity and Accord [PRUA] has won an unexpected 30 per cent in the Russian Caucasian Republic of Khabardino-Balkaria in the parliamentary elections on December 12, leaving the victorious Liberal Democratic Party of Russia far behind.

The republican electoral commission said over 288,000 people took part in the voting, which is more than 57 per cent of the registered electorate.

The Party of Russian Unity and Accord of Sergey Shakhrai received 30 per cent, followed by the Communist Party of Russia with 20 per cent and the Agrarian Party. The Liberal Democratic Party of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy holds fourth place and the Russia's Choice election bloc on the fifth.

Khabardino-Balkar President Valeriy Kokov who ran for a seat in the Federation Council, the upper house of Russia's new parliament, received 88 per cent of votes, and Prime Minister Giorgiy Cherkesov 61.1 per cent. In one-seat constituencies, republican Parliament Chairman Khachim Karmonov won about 61 per cent.

A total of 67 per cent of voters supported the draft Russian constitution.

#### **Violations Reported in Moscow District**

LD1512235893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2038 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] Candidates to the State Duma who stood in Moscow's Southwestern (204th) Constituency have sent a letter to President Boris Yeltsin, Central Election Commission Chairman Nikolay Ryabov and the head of the local election commission demanding the annulment of the results of the elections in that constituency.

Economist Mikhail Bocharov, political scientist Dmitriy Olshanskiy from the Party of Russian Unity and Accord and head of the Kombep bank Aleksandr Ishchenko told a news conference on Wednesday there had been serious violations of the regulations during the voting at the constituency.

Victory there was won by Pavel Medvedev from Russia's Choice. Viktor Sheynis from the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc, who was running in the same constituency, withdrew his candidacy in favor of Medvedev.

Bocharov, Olshanskiy and Ishchenko said that, at some of the constituency's polling stations, observers had not been allowed to oversee the counting of votes and some ballot boxes had damaged seals or were not sealed at all.

They said some stations had issued ballot papers from which Sheynis's name had not been deleted or papers lacking proper stamps or signatures of election commission members. Unused ballot papers were not canceled at all stations, they said.

#### **Tuva Prefers 'Local Constitution'**

LD1612073293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0644 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Evgeniy Sobetskiy]

[Text] Kyzyl, 16 Dec, TASS—The Russian Republic of Tuva preferred the local constitution, which envisages the right to self-determination, to the federal one which strips republics of the sovereign status.

Only 30.5 per cent of the 62.2 per cent turnout in Tuva voted for the Russian constitution, while the republican one was supported by 53.9 per cent.

President of Tuva Sherig Ool-Oorzhak, who was elected to the Federation Council, the upper chamber of the new parliament, had earlier denied allegations that his republic plans to secede from Russia, but said it insists on remaining an ethnic state entity.

The local parliament voted that in case both Russian and republican constitutions are adopted the federal one will have the upper hand.

#### **Amur Official Notes Irregularities**

OW1612135593 Vladivostok Radiostantsiya Tikhiiy Okean Maritime Network in Russian 0815 GMT 16 Dec 93

[From the "Pacific Ocean" Program]

[Text] According to Grigoriy Nikandrov, presidential representative in Amur Oblast, the elections to the Federal Assembly in the oblast may be declared invalid. Grigoriy Nikandrov noted that the ballot boxes contained significantly fewer ballot papers than were handed out to voters. There were nearly 15,000 ballot papers missing in Blagoveshchensk and Belogorsk alone. In his opinion, gross errors also occurred in the counting of votes on the adoption of the constitution. Grigoriy Nikandrov also related the fact that all the mail boxes in one residential building contained ready-completed State Duma ballot papers for the single-seat districts, marked with a cross against the names of the Communist Party of Russia candidates.

#### **Maritime Kray Final Results**

LD1612115093 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Report by M. Voznesenskiy; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpt] The constituency electoral commission of Maritime Kray has summed up the final results of the referendum and the elections to the Federation Council. The referendum has been deemed valid. Almost 72 percent of voters voted for Russia's new constitution.

As far as parties are concerned, the Liberal Democratic Party is in the lead by a considerable margin—it has 22 percent of the votes. Unexpectedly, Women of Russia came in second, Russia's Choice came in a poor third, followed by the Communists and the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc. [passage omitted]

**SEGODNYA Notes Winners in Single-Seat Constituencies***MK1612115093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 16 Dec 93 p 1*

[Petr Zhuravlev report in the "Elections" column: "Is The Liberal Democratic Party Second After All? Zhirinovskiy Has Been Stopped in Single-Seat Constituencies"]

[Text] The Central Election Committee's Information and Analysis Center continues to summarize the results of the parliamentary elections and the referendum on the constitution coming in from the regions. Although the results are still incomplete and unofficial (94 percent of the referendum ballots have been counted), by the end of this week they may take on an official character. So far the figure of the turnout in the nationwide ballot is 55.55 percent of the entire eligible electorate, 57.44 percent of which voted for the constitution. Apparently the remaining 6 percent of the ballot will not change this figure drastically.

Election results have been summed up in 168 (out of 223) constituencies populated by some 92 percent of Russians, where in voting on party slates and individual candidacies, 45,930,557 valid ballots have been cast (i.e., a turnout of approximately 44 percent). So far, seats in parliament have been won by the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (23.93 percent), Russia's Choice (14.48 percent), the Russian Federation Communist Party (13.59 percent), the Agrarian Party (8.96 percent), Women of Russia (8.48 percent), the Yavlinskiy bloc (7.35 percent), the Party of Russian Unity and Accord [PRUA] (6.66 percent), and the Democratic Party of Russia (5.51 percent). The Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms has 4.37 percent of the vote and others even less. Again, considering the small number of voters whose will the Central Election Committee is yet to take into account (and people at 19 Arbatskaya Street are now simply waiting for reports from district commissions), it can be assumed that this lineup will not undergo any substantial changes.

The holders of 174 mandates distributed in single-seat constituencies are already known. In the second half of the lower chamber Mr. Zhirinovskiy has far fewer of his men than in the first, while Russia's Choice, on the contrary, has a chance of increasing its faction. The same can be said about the Communists and the Agrarians. Generally, the so-called independent deputies are in the majority and therefore a detailed analysis of the distribution of forces appears premature (it is extremely difficult and also rash to draw conclusions on affiliation with a particular political line judging by election slogans). With all respect for the elected but almost or totally unknown deputies, it is reasonable to mention those who have already appeared on the Russian political scene or are known as a politician, author, lawyer, and so forth. Such people are quite numerous, including Aleksandr Dzasokhov, former CPSU Central Committee member (elected in North Ossetia); Valentin

Agafonov, former deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet (Chuvashiya); Igor Muravyev, former member of the Supreme Soviet's Smena faction (Voronezh); Ella Pamfilova, Russian Federation social security minister (Kaluga); Vladimir Lukin, Russian Federation ambassador to the United States; Vladimir Kvasov, chief of the Russian Federation Government apparatus; Vladimir Zhirinovskiy (the last four from Moscow Oblast); Andrey Kozyrev, Russian Federation foreign minister (Murmansk); Vasily Lipitskiy, leader of the Free Russia People's Party (Novosibirsk); Sergey Baburin (Omsk); Victor Ilyukhin, former USSR deputy prosecutor general (Penza); Nikolay Lysenko, leader of the National Republican Party (Saratov); Mikhail Mityukov, head of the Legislative Proposals Commission (Khakasia); and Aleksandr Pochinok, Russian Federation deputy finance minister (Chelyabinsk). Those elected in Moscow include: Vice Premier Boris Fedorov; lawyer Andrey Makarov; Aleksandr Braginskiy, city government deputy premier; Irina Khakamada, general secretary of the Economic Freedom Party; author Yuriy Vlasov; journalist Alla Gerber; and also Georgiy Zadonskiy, chief of a Russian Federation Labor Ministry department; and Pavel Medvedev, an adviser from the president's experts group. In St. Petersburg, Aleksandr Nevzorov and Mark Goryachev, president of a concern named after him, were elected. In the Nenets Autonomous District, Artur Chilingarov, president of the Arctic Workers Association and Hero of the Soviet Union, was elected. In four constituencies in Tatarstan elections were not held and therefore Yuriy Voronin, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, has so far not received a deputy's mandate.

Members of the upper parliament chamber—the Federation Council—for the most part will be represented by heads of the executive branch in Federation components and cities, local representatives of the Russian president, and also heads of local soviets.

Of course, until the final results have been summed up and all the deputy mandates distributed, it is just impossible to make any suppositions about the "character" of the future Federal Assembly with full certainty. Even so, it appears likely that if the parliamentarians, after all the "divisions and unifications," at the stage of adopting regulatory acts and statutes realize the acuteness of the situation that has developed following the elections, they will concern themselves with "neutralizing" the Liberal Democratic Party faction, for a certain time putting on hold their discontent with the government and the need to straighten out other strategic issues. In this event Boris Yeltsin and the Council of Ministers will have a little less of a headache. Otherwise, the facetious question that has appeared recently about how soon the president will call new elections, will lose its jocular coloring somewhat. Anyway, under the constitution's transitional statute, he will still have to show patience for at least a year....

[Article is accompanied by a diagram showing the number of seats in the State Duma for each of the major parties, based on the provisional election returns]



|                                        |     |
|----------------------------------------|-----|
| Russia's Choice                        | 72  |
| Yabloko                                | 26  |
| PRUA                                   | 19  |
| Women of Russia                        | 23  |
| The Democratic Party of Russia         | 15  |
| The Agrarian Party of Russia           | 37  |
| The Russian Federation Communist Party | 48  |
| The Liberal Democratic Party of Russia | 67  |
| ?                                      | 143 |

### Nevzorov Views Victory

LD1512192293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Excerpts] Observers are pointing out that the State Duma will include many familiar figures from the former Soviet and Russian Supreme Soviets. There will also be people who have become known through nonparliamentary activities. For instance, in St. Petersburg, Aleksandr Nevzorov has won over five opponents. Larisa Zakharova has the details.

[Zakharova] [passage omitted] Nevzorov believes that he won because democracy has collapsed. Aleksandr Nevzorov said, that as a member of the State Duma with a right to exercise operational control over the situation, he intends to bring some order first of all to Petersburg television, in order to make it professional. The legendary tele-journalist plans to reinstate daily broadcasts of the information program 600 Seconds, and to issue 30-minute weekly reports which will hardly have any political content. I will personally determine dates and times of broadcasts, since I have the power to do so now, said Nevzorov.

When I asked him who had financed his electoral campaign, Aleksandr Nevzorov said that the money came from his rather wealthy brother, whom he qualified as a shadowy figure [podpolshchik].

### Rutskoy Ally Elected

LD151222393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1550 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Novosibirsk, 15 December, TASS—Vasiliy Lipitskiy, an ally of Former Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy who is awaiting trial for organising the armed opposition rebellion in October in Moscow, was elected to the State Duma in a first past-the-post constituency in the Novosibirsk regions, it was announced at a press conference on Wednesday.

Lipitskiy, who is deputy director of the Institute of Social and Political Research of the Russian Academy Of

sciences, was chairman of the former People's Party of Free Russia, which was headed by the rebel vice-president.

Lipitskiy was also a leader of the centrist "Civic Union" bloc. However, after the revolt he created his own political-economic association "Civic Union" which split from the main organisation and ran for parliament together with the future of Russia-New Names bloc.

Evidently, foreseeing the defeat of the bloc Lipitskiy did not run on its election list and preferred to compete independently in Novosibirsk.

### Military's Participation, Choices in Election Viewed

LD1512193393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] The Army did not, apparently, vote for Zhirnovskiy, as some media hastened to state. At the press group of the Moscow Military District, we were told today that, according to interim figures, 98 percent of voters in the units actually voted, and most of them backed the constitution. Servicemen in the Taman Division, for example, voted in six electoral districts. The results differ, but, according to some data from the Electoral Commissions, in a number of battalions, Russia's Choice came first, the PRUA [Party of Russian Unity and Accord] came second, and the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] came third.

All in all, one can only assess the Army's participation by looking at closed districts, to which military hospitals also belong. MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS writes today that less than 15 percent voted for Zhirnovskiy's party at Tver's military hospital, and eight percent at Vladimir's military hospital.

### Voted Like 'Cross-Section' of Society

PM1512203993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Dec 93 p 1

[Vladimir Gavrilenko report: "What Guided the Voter's Hand?"]

[Excerpts] It is said that if a man is hungry enough, he will work. One could add to this, expand upon it: Work hard, play hard. Folklore has a whole host of proverbs and sayings on this score. All of them meaning that man's sense of personal well-being determines his attitude toward life, toward people, toward their ideas and problems. So, however much we might frown and scratch our heads, however much we might ponder and wonder what actually guided the voter's hand when putting his crosses on the ballot papers, it is the Russians' sense of social well-being that largely influenced the results of the recent elections. Barely having drawn breath after yesterday's problems, and racking his brains over tomorrow's, the voter often simply got confused.



And as always in such cases he votes not so much for somebody as against that which is exasperating him right now....

Even those whose names appeared on the ballot papers have arrived at this conclusion. Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, for instance, described the results as not particularly sensational, depicting them as society's reaction to the 20-percent inflation, the slump in production, the rise in crime, and the general deterioration in living standards. [passage omitted]

The rhetorical question "For whom did the Army vote?" has remained precisely that. As we were told by Central Electoral Commission Member Valeriy Naumov, who is in charge of collaboration between the commission and federal organs, ministries, and departments, no special records were kept of military voters, let alone anyone trying to establish who voted for whom. So the rumors flying around Moscow in the last few days that, apparently, one particular academy voted for such and such a party, and another for such and such a bloc, are simply absurd, as students and teachers at the academies live in different parts of the city, and this is where they also voted. Basically, all this "election" talk around the Armed Forces is yet another attempt to foist upon the Army, or at the very least attribute to it, some kind of clearly expressed political bias. Meanwhile, the Army voted just like society did—a society of which, as we love to say, it is a cross-section.

#### 96 Percent of Servicemen Vote

LD1612142193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1403 GMT 16 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow December 16 TASS— Ninety-six percent of Russian servicemen took part in the December 12 elections. They voted at open polling stations which ruled out revealing of servicemen's liking for this or that candidate, party and bloc. Major-General Nikolay Radul, head of the department of the chief department for working with the personnel of the Russian Armed Forces, told ITAR-TASS today.

According to Major-General Nikolay Radul, units and subdivisions of the Russian Army had the possibility to familiarise themselves with programs and candidates' election platforms, including on the basis of information published in periodicals, radio and television broadcasts. On the election day servicemen, just as all other voters, were informed, if it was necessary, about the party and bloc membership of nominated candidates.

The impressive success of the Liberal Democratic Party in the elections was unexpected for the military, too, the general said. According to data from the chief department for working with the personnel of the Russian Armed Forces, the name of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy did

not emerge in the opinion polls conducted among servicemen on the eve of the elections," Nikolay Radul pointed out.

#### Results of Voting in Ukraine Reported

LD1512205993 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1440 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev, [no date as received]—Yevhen Tyurin, press attache of the Russian Embassy in Ukraine, informed a UNIAN correspondent on 15 December that 328 citizens of Russia, who had been in Kiev during the elections, voted at the electoral district organized at the embassy. The majority of them supported Russia's constitution and "Russia's Choice". Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party of Russia was in second place and the Communist Party of Russia was in third.

There was a somewhat different situation in Sevastopol. Although 12,000 people had the right to take part in the elections, 9,227 made use of the possibility. According to information from INTERFAX, 67.5 percent supported the new constitution, 19 percent the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (Zhirinovskiy), 11 percent "Russia's Choice", and 7 percent the Communist Party of Russia (Zyuganov).

Ukraine did not have the most adherents of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. For example, 39 percent of 2,000 electors in Ashgabat (Turkmenistan) voted for the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia.

#### Electoral Commission Adopts Rulings on Campaign Spending

PM1512150793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the Central Electoral Commission. Extract From Protocol No. 47 of the Session of the Central Electoral Commission for the Elections to the Russian Federation Federal Assembly Federation Council and State Duma, dated 9 December 1993"]

[Text] It is decreed that:

1. Expenses associated with the election campaigns of electoral associations and Russian Federation Federal Assembly Federation Council and State Duma candidate deputies can be paid by corporate bodies or individuals during the period from the time of registration of electoral associations' federal lists and candidate deputies through the time of their opening of special temporary accounts in banks, with this expenditure subsequently being reimbursed out of the election funds of the corresponding electoral associations and candidate deputies in the prescribed manner.

2. A decision to extend the payment of expenses from the temporary accounts of electoral associations and Russian Federation Federal Assembly Federation Council and State Duma candidate deputies can be made, in

exceptional cases, during the period from 12 through 25 December 1993 by the Central Electoral Commission and corresponding district electoral commissions on the basis of written requests by electoral associations and candidate deputies and their submission to these electoral commissions of financial documents confirming the date (before 11 December 1993, inclusive) and amount of the payment and also the reason for the delay.

[Signed] N.T. Ryabov, chairman of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission

V.A. Zagulyayev, secretary of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission

#### **Bills Drawn Up To Implement New Constitution**

LD1512140293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1257  
GMT 15 Dec 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS analyst Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow, 15 December, TASS—A plan for legislative work to implement the new Russian Constitution has been drawn up by the Commission of Legislative Proposals under the Russian president, ITAR-TASS was told by its chairman Mikhail Mityukov. The members of the commission "had foreseen, on the basis of a comprehensive analysis, that the draft constitution would be adopted, and had prepared in advance a list of legislative acts needed by our society," he stated.

"The list includes 12 constitutional federal laws, 50 federal laws, and amendments and supplements to dozens of existing normative acts. Some of these documents are being finalized by the commission, while most of them will be drawn up by the new parliament. The list also includes documents on human rights and the state's legal development, on juridical guarantees to Russian federalism, on economic reforms and the social policy, and on international relations. Of course, the plan for drawing up the necessary bills has to be approved by the parliament.

"The commission has not only laid the ground for the State Duma's future work, but has also drawn up procedural rules for it," Mityukov said. "The document will be discussed this week by an enlarged meeting of the commission with the participation of jurists, representatives of presidential and government bodies, various agencies and organizations, as well as the election blocs and movements that took part in the elections," he added.

"The commission proceeded from the premise that the State Duma will be a fully autonomous chamber, which will hold its own meetings and will adopt federal laws. The State Duma and the Council of the Federation will hold joint meetings only in three cases: to hear messages addressed to them by the president and the Constitutional Court, and statements by heads of foreign states. The work of the State Duma will be based on the

principle of political multifariousness and multipartisanship, on collective and free discussion of problems and their joint adoption," Mityukov said. "This is why the draft envisages a greatly enhanced role of factions as compared to the former Supreme Soviet. On the other hand, the role of the Duma's speaker will be reduced only to the chairing of sessions," he noted.

"Our society needs a professional parliament responsible to the people," said Mityukov, who was elected to the State Duma during the Sunday elections.

#### **Foreign Observers' Accounts of Election Favorable**

LD1512222293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1549  
GMT 15 Dec 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] 15 December, TASS—The high assessment of Russian parliamentary elections and the referendum on the draft constitution given by foreign observers is objective, Andrey Davydov, head of the International Service of the Russian Central Electoral Commission, said.

"Now that the voting is behind, many observers tell us frankly that they had doubts about the very possibility of holding elections within such a short period of time and in conditions of such a deep crisis of power," Davydov told ITAR-TASS on Wednesday [15 December].

He noted that the accounts of foreign observers who visited more than 40 Russian cities in various regions are very favourable. "In their words, the voting was held without any pressure or intimidation of the voters, in conditions of a wide democratic choice of candidates and election blocs. Foreign observers were surprised by the openness they met at polling stations and in conversations with people," Davydov said.

He stressed that the Central Electoral Commission "has not heard about a single case in which foreign observers' requests connected with the preparation and holding of elections and referendum on the draft constitution would be rejected."

"At the same time, foreign observers have made some comments. They noted that the ballots were not very convenient for voting on the draft constitution. Some observers also pointed out that many voters lacked information about the platforms of parties and blocs," Davydov added.

However, all this cannot affect the result of voting. "International observers were unanimous on that," Davydov concluded.

**Official, Regional Reaction****Yeltsin To Hold News Conference in 'Coming Days'**

*LD1612111893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1101 GMT 16 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow December 16 TASS—As it became known to TASS, Russian President Boris Yeltsin will hold a press conference on the results of parliamentary elections and the constitutional referendum in the coming days.

Currently the administration of the president is attentively studying the preliminary results.

Nikolay Ryabov, head of the Central Electoral Commission, will make them public on Friday [17 December].

**Ryabov: Results Not Ready 17 Dec**

*LD1612155093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 16 Dec 93*

[Text] Central Electoral Commission Chairman Nikolay Ryabov says official results of the voting on the draft constitution will not be ready by Friday [17 December] as planned, because not all electoral commissions have sent in their official returns. The chairman thinks work will be finished by Monday. Tomorrow, Nikolay Ryabov will hold a news conference to give the preliminary results of the elections.

**Kozyrev Interviewed on Elections, Zhirinovskiy**

*LD1512212993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1848 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Interview with Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—recorded]

[Correspondent] Andrey Vladimirovich, so far the reaction of the world community to the results, the preliminary results, of the elections and the constitutional referendum in Russia has been very restrained. Nonetheless, fears are already being voiced that our foreign policy guidelines may yet alter in some way in connection with the victory of the opposition. How justified are these fears?

[Kozyrev] I would here welcome this restrained reaction because we are talking about a purely internal matter of ours. At the same time this reaction is, on the whole, a positive reaction. As usual, our foreign partners show interest not in a precise distribution of seats among parties and in what sort of parties these will be, for this is our own affair, but in Russia's advance along the democratic path, the safeguarding of human rights, let us say. This is a matter of concern for us in other countries and these are the issues we always discuss with our

foreign partners, not just as applicable to Russia, but as applicable to what is taking place in the relevant states.

As for foreign reaction, the issue which happens to be the main issue for us, too, is singled out: The constitution has been adopted. It is, in fact, the Yeltsin constitution and everyone understands that. The president has taken the initiative and played the leading role in the elaboration of the constitution, although the best minds and experts were also involved, you will recall the painstaking work, but, of course, it was the president's initiative and it is the president's constitution, just as the De Gaulle constitution in France, let us say, or the Jefferson constitution in the United States and there is nothing special about it, nor does it signify any sort of authoritarianism—it is a natural situation. A president legitimately elected by the whole of the people favors the construction of Russian statehood. The constitution has been passed, and this is the main thing. It makes our foreign partners and us ourselves confident that foreign and internal policy will remain the same in its essence—reformist, democratic, open, and so on and so forth. Our foreign policy is being made by the president; It has been, it is now, and always will be, I would like to stress this. Naturally, we want the Duma, the Federal Assembly as a whole, and the parties and individual deputies who come to work in it to contribute to the strengthening of the foreign policy of the Russian state, but its fundamentals, its fundamental policy will remain the same because it is being made by the president.

The presidential mandate is incontrovertible. In the space of two years the president in fact received his third vote of confidence from all the people—here I mean the vote for the constitution—and, incidentally, in the course of the election campaign the main principles of the foreign policy were not questioned, if you ignore perfectly irresponsible statements which their authors are already repudiating with the same ease with which they made these irresponsible statements, having so frightened the world which has apparently still failed to distinguish between serious politicians with serious programs and, forgive me here, the jester-cum-buffoon types.

That is the way it appears, because these people, or this person immediately made a statement completely contradicting what was said before. Well, that is what they are worth, these statements, the ones made before and, evidently, the ones made later. It is difficult to consider them seriously, although we will, of course, take account of the spectrum of views voiced in the Duma on the part of all sorts of parties and individual deputies.

[Correspondent] Andrey Vladimirovich Kozyrev, it's understood that, according to the new constitution, it's the president and the government who design and carry out foreign policy, but parliament, of course, cannot and should not be detached from our foreign affairs. Yet, you have already said, and everyone knows that some leaders



of the opposition who gained the upper hand in the elections just now have very original views on the subject of international affairs.

[Kozyrev] To begin with I would ask: What would we want from the new parliament? What does the country, the state, require from it? What do I, personally, as a representative of a party bloc, or as a deputy from Murmansk Oblast, require and what does the country require? The country needs stronger legislation pertaining to those foreign policy matters, those foreign policy problems with which we are permanently occupied: for example, protection of the Russian-speaking population in countries near our borders [*v blizhnem zarubezhye*], as they say, that is, in the republics of the former Soviet Union. This is an acutely difficult problem. No easy answers or easy approaches will do, like: everything has been transformed into a *guberniya* [*pre-1918 administrative district*], so the Russian-speaking population is protected. This, on the contrary, works against the Russian-speaking population. Why? Because it causes an even greater explosion in those areas where there is already nationalism, or in many cases simply causes offense, you understand, and then you get people showing that strange desire to prove that they fear no one. It all spills over into anger, indignation and so on against the very Russian-speaking population that was supposed to be protected by these heroic statements.

I would advise those leaders who make such easy statements about former Soviet republics to visit them themselves and live somewhere for a week after making such a statement, but I do not mean they should do this surrounded by soldiers, by their own bodyguards, or under the protection of Russian servicemen—who serve so heroically in the most difficult conditions in many places, like Tajikistan, Georgia, and so on, and the Transdnister—I mean simply to live as the ordinary Russian population does. The ordinary Russian population does not live behind tanks, you understand, or behind barbed wire, but in normal conditions. Their children attend school. People go to work. If the leader who made the irresponsible statement were himself to go to work and listen to what his colleagues say—the Kazakhs, the Uzbeks with whom he would have to work, and with whom people in fact do work with no problems in many cases, thank God. We should help such people to continue to work without problems, not have people point at others, saying: You hate us; you want us again to be a dependent people, and so on. This, you understand, is pure provocation.

Now can the Duma, or the whole parliament, in actual fact take part in settling this issue? It can and it is obliged to! And very concrete measures must be applied. Thank God that the current constitution—which is in force now, which has been passed—thank God there is an article in it which stipulates clearly that there will be dual citizenship in Russia. This means that we can now approach our partners to conclude agreements on granting dual citizenship. This would represent protection for the Russian-speaking population.

If a Russian, an ethnic Russian, or a Russian-speaker, someone who feels close to Russia—there are Uzbeks and Kazakhs and Kyrgyz who consider themselves in essence Russian-speakers; you understand the position—if all of these people, or some of them, wish to have Russian citizenship as well as Kyrgyz, Kazakh, or Uzbek citizenship, of course they will be under the protection of the Russian state, they will have the rights and so on. People want this.

Our so-called patriots and national-patriots loved waxing lyrical on this theme in the former Supreme Soviet—how many speeches were made, how many accusations against the Foreign Ministry and so on—but they never got down to passing a law which would allow people to receive Russian citizenship when it would mean dual nationality for those living in the states of the former Soviet Union and, by the way, many people in more distant countries wish to receive dual nationality. These include our writers who emigrated and some businessmen including those wanting to do business in Russia, people who left perhaps a couple of generations or one generation ago. These are also Russian people, Russians. They feel goodwill for the country. Why can they not have dual citizenship?

Thus they waxed lyrical for two years, they accused the president and me, personally, of every mortal sin but they did not pass a law. The Foreign Ministry, however, on its part, put forward to the president a proposal, a draft for such law, which was drawn up by the best legal minds, and underwent scrutiny by world experts. We submitted this draft law to the president. The president sent it to the former Supreme Soviet. The former Supreme Soviet, I suppose, did not even notice that the president had submitted such a draft.

Well, the draft law is ready. If the Duma, instead of waxing lyrical on this theme, instead of making provocative threats which will only cause additional annoyance and so on, simply gets on with adopting this law—of course debating all its aspects and subjecting it to criticism and so on, but using it as a basis to resolve this task—we shall be making a huge step towards in supporting the Russian-speaking population.

I will give you a second example. The same irresponsible source, the same leader, who said during the election campaign that we will show everyone, we will force them all, etc.—those were the sorts of expression. Well, how can one now restore the former Soviet Union, and how can one turn all the republics into provinces [*gubernii*], even if we wanted to? Incidentally, I am not sure that that is our aim, since there are a great many questions here. Do we need that? But even if we did want that, for the sake of argument, by what means could it be done? Only by one means: force. In other words, troops, tanks, and so on have to be sent in.

Yesterday, literally yesterday, this same leader declared, without batting an eyelid, that we would be removing all



troops, and not a single Russian soldier would be anywhere in the countries of the former USSR and he even, in effect, dissociated himself from those countries and from our republics. Now listen, those are, after all, two demagogic extremes. On the one hand, we either send in troops and restore the Soviet Union, or we all leave and abandon everything as though it had nothing to do with us, as though links had not been established through the centuries with those republics, as though we had no economic interests there, although in many cases the shutdown of factories there would lead to a situation in which we couldn't do anything here either.

What is more, that leader and people who argue casually in that vein—there are a lot of politicians like that, incidentally—has now completely forgotten that there are millions of Russian-speakers living there, whose lives sometimes depend directly on the Russian peacekeeping forces, but the Russian forces should not be occupation forces, not imperial forces; they should be peacekeeping forces—blue helmets, if you like. In other words, doing what they are doing now, and I say nothing about the contempt, the snobbery, the—I'm sorry—impudence towards those servicemen, Russian officers and men, who are already paying with their lives for that peacekeeping mission on the Tajik-Afghan border.

I do not know whether those who argue in that way have been there. Many of these critics spend their time in the United States. Many spend their time making speeches on television, and so on. I have been there many times recently, on the Tajik-Afghan border, in all the conflict areas, and today hundreds of our officers and men, Russians, citizens of Russia, are operating in all the conflict areas. Sometimes they are killed, sometimes they are wounded. Incidentally, diplomats work hand-in-glove with them in all the hotspots. Not just the minister, but dozens of diplomats have given up their receptions and their office work for work in the field, under fire. Recently, there was the well-known case of Kazimirov, who came under fire on the Armenian border, and so on. In other words, that is where the real-life work to ensure Russian interests is today, in those conditions, and we have no right to leave there.

Then again, let us return to parliament, to what parliament might have done and ought to have done. It is the same old story. From the very beginning, as soon as the CIS was formed and Russia became an independent state, we in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs together with the military prepared a draft law on the peacekeeping actions of the Russian troops which was studied by international experts and so on—not someone's instructions, but because we wanted to make use of international experience in this field. Naturally, these forces were to be used first of all in the near abroad, but not only there—we have our battalion serving in Yugoslavia at this moment—and this is our current, concrete contribution towards the defense of Yugoslavia and the settlement of the Yugoslav conflict, and so on: 800 men altogether, all of them Russian soldiers and officers. I went there too. There is occasional shooting there, even

in the area where they are deployed. No one is crying there, no one is engaged in heroic posturing. They just serve, in the Russian way, they are doing their job, and all the time these people here were just engaged in idle talk. These people were talking like this for two years, but have managed neither to adopt this law nor even to discuss it in the committees—either in the committee for international issues, which used to enjoy calling me up for questioning so much, or in any other committee. Nothing has moved, and I hope that the newly elected Federal Assembly will bring together not only people who, perhaps having already cooled down after this pre-election struggle during which many of them have seriously come to believe that politics is indeed a dirty job and decided to start their political careers with dirty tricks—you understand, what I am trying to say? But I do hope that there will be enough sensible people there who will adopt the law on the peacekeeping missions and, at long last, create a legal basis for those soldiers and officers who are doing their job today, risking their lives.

[Correspondent] Andrey Vladimirovich, it is clear that you are a diplomat of a highest rank, but is it right to go on using such words as you have used several times today: a certain leader. Everyone knows already who is this certain leader—it is Vladimir Zhirinovskiy who has won the elections, after all—however unexpected this was for many people. What is this, caution or the unwillingness to get engaged in polemics?

[Kozyrev] You know, if you are interested in what I think about Zhirinovskiy—incidentally, I have known him for a very long time—yes, Vladimir Volfovich has been legitimately elected, his mandate will be as legitimate as the one I will be receiving. He can talk to people in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs if he is very unclear as to what has to be done. In any case, I would like to ask deputies to refrain from the statements similar to one he made yesterday. Although, yesterday he took back all his aggressive claims to the former USSR republics and so on and so forth, he said at the same time that we are prepared to have the Kaliningrad Oblast run jointly, as far as I understand, by us and the Germans since his next sentence sounded something like this: And we will have a joint border with Germany there.

Do you understand? I do apologize, but in no case will we give up the Kaliningrad Oblast. We have a very clear-cut treaty with Germany regarding this matter, which determines present borders, and the Kaliningrad Oblast is not something which is being questioned. Even in the FRG, even their extremists and fascists, recognize this, as far as I know, as being a historic reality and do not lay claims to it. It would be very odd, indeed, if we now start giving away areas which, I repeat, no one is laying claims to. That is why I would ask him to forget it. If Vladimir Volfovich needs any consultations in the field of political geography, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is prepared to give them to him since he is a candidate deputy.

It is a different matter that his statements in my view—this is my personal, moral, and political, not a legal assessment, but my moral and political assessment—his statements verge on utter irresponsibility and, in general reek strongly, to put it bluntly, of fascist-style demagoguery.

I must say that Hitler, in the past—I am not whipping up tension in this case and we really have nothing to fear, but we must remember some similarities—did more or less the same in Germany in 1933. At first he came out with the totally irresponsible question of redrawing all the borders with extreme, xenophobic nationalism with its aggressive attitude to other peoples. Then after victory at the elections—by the way he was victorious in the German elections in 1933—he pursued a policy of legitimization. He seemed to dismiss all that had gone before, with the same rare smoothness, and it seemed many people were reassured. Many people thought: Well, what of it? And by the way, in Munich in 1938 when the Western democracies, the Western leaders, cut a deal with Hitler, this was probably because he played his part and said: No, no, that is just what I said at the time—but he never directly renounced this. And when in 1941—World War II began in 1939—and when on 22 June 1941 he attacked the Soviet Union, then he said: What did I tell you in 1932? You understand what this is about?

Therefore, when I meet Vladimir Volfovich Zhirinovskiy in the Duma or somewhere else I shall not offer to shake his hand, at least not until he says, not just smoothly but as a good solid man, simply as an honorable man, not even as a politician but simply as an honorable man, until he says to me and to those around: Yes, I made a few statements during the election campaign—well I wanted to be a deputy, I wanted to be a leader—I made several irresponsible statements but I have renounced them and I have reviewed my position. If he does this, I shall be glad and evidently it will be possible to shake hands with him and with other people. I think that many of those who are members of his party, themselves, have not realized...[pauses] Well in any event when we speak about fascism or the threat of fascism with reference to this situation, of course, we are not referring to those people who voted in this instance for Zhirinovskiy.

I think that this is a very complex phenomenon—the way people voted. It is possible that they voted against many things, including our own mistakes, especially, organizational mistakes made during the election campaign. I myself had dropped out of the central election campaign during its last stages because of my workload and should admit that I bear certain responsibility for this, since I was one of the leaders and one of the founding members of the Russia's Choice. I was too engrossed in my own campaign in Murmansk, my constituency, as well as some foreign policy matters, and so on. Therefore, I cannot deny that I also bear a certain share of responsibility—and it seems that everybody else was just as busy. Yegor Timurovich Gaydar was busy dealing with various economic issues, and many others

were too busy as well. We should have been paying more attention to the mainstream election campaign and not leave the field to others.

In reality, all these theses are nothing but empty words. A whole range of simply astonishing myths is being spread about. I can tell you exactly what the real situation is like with, for example, the Indian cryogenic engines. I know that our Aleksandr Semenovitch [not further identified] and, I think, Vladimir Volfovich as well as many others are now returning to this question. There is a myth being spread to the effect that we have revoked a profitable multibillion deal with India on instruction from America. Well, let us recall this story. The whole deal, first of all, was worth \$300 million. Not all that much, anyway. Second, 84 percent of this deal has already been honored and it will be completed in full. There is only one obstacle for as far as the last 16 percent of this order is concerned—and you can imagine how much this comes to out of 300 million, it is pennies as far as international deals go. The matter is that we indeed do not wish to pass on the missile technology although we are prepared to send them blocks already assembled by ourselves. In other words, to give them what India needs for a purpose of launching a cryogenic powered missile. But this technology can have be used for other purposes.

The cryogenic engines in question are not used for carrying nuclear or other weapons for military purpose. But exactly the same technology can be used to create combat missiles. And what Russian interests do we have here and what are the interests of the United States? Any man who knows his geography will see by looking at the map that creating a missile potential in Asia will create potential threat to Russia—I am speaking only of potential threat, of a possibility. And so, the threat of these missiles striking Russia, including Moscow, is far more serious, due to Russia being much closer, than the threat of them striking Washington or other U.S. cities where they have to cover the distance of thousands of miles across the ocean. Here is your answer.

Apart from that, unfortunately there are states here that traditionally have conflicting relations with India. We are doing our best to see that they are good, but there are well-known disagreements between India and Pakistan. There are also other states, Islamic states, many of which are also located in areas of conflict. Do we need these countries to possess missiles? Many of them are on the threshold. We are struggling to see that they do not furnish themselves with nuclear weapons.

So, they are our neighbors. They are the neighbors of Russia. They are the neighbors of the CIS, and so it is a matter of concern to us that it should not happen there. If India can, then why not Pakistan as well? You see the point? So we are in favor of stiffening, of strengthening the regime for the nonproliferation of missiles and missile technology. India understands us perfectly well. We have splendid relations with India. Boris Nikolayevich has been on a visit there. Highly important

documents have been signed there. Economic cooperation is developing between us. We have no problems with India over this deal. That's the myth about the Indian deal, you see. There are lots of myths like that. I hope that the new parliament will have ears to hear, as Jesus Christ said: Those that have ears, let them hear.

[Correspondent] It is not a secret to you or anyone, that Russia has been in a somewhat panicky mood over the last two days. A shattering defeat for democracy. A fascist plague is coming. A catastrophe, well nigh civil war, is approaching. As far as I can judge by your words, you do not share this point of view.

[Kozyrev] No, I do not share this point of view. I do not share a panicky mood. The situation on the whole is far from panicky—the economic situation, Russia's prestige in the world. You know, people are trying to suggest to the population and many other people, trying to present their inferiority complex and their ignorance—as in the case with the Indian deal—as their patriotism and their concern for the Motherland. In actual fact they are not patriots. A patriot, above all, is confident of himself. Such an enormous country as Russia...[pauses] I cannot understand this at all, where it is coming from, what for, and who has invented that we should be afraid of anyone, that we cannot live in the surrounding world, that we cannot be partners with other states and dispute our interests at the same time? This simply means that people don't really know their own country. They don't even know what great potential we have.

Yet again, I would like to say the following: We have the constitution of a democratic state. We have the president who has received his mandate three times in two years. There is no other president like him in the whole world. Yeltsin fully guarantees the continuation of the policy of reforms. We have the government. We have the chairman of the government, Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin. We have a normal country which is developing. Yes, Vladimir Volfovich has been elected. Perhaps, he himself feels that he has gone too far and therefore started talking (?differently). It is a pity that he is doing it so frivolously. One would like to see that the man, let's say, has been thinking for a week, gets acquainted with some documents, and then changes his point of view. Certainly, it is not nice that we will have such deputies who are saying one thing today and literally the opposite the next day.

A threat of fascism? Yes, it does exist. We have always been saying this. The threat does exist and, unfortunately, there are some features in Zhirinovskiy's behavior today, let's face it, which even remind us of the behavior of some leaders in Germany in 1933. Yes, but this is a complete nonsense that this pest will now spread all over the country, that we must panic and therefore keep silent, that we must get frightened, let others intimidate us and terrorize us.

I think we will get away with an inoculation. This is rather like an inoculation when the temperature goes up.

This is very good that there has been such a reaction in society to the inoculation—the voting results—when the temperature has gone up quickly. This is a very good indication. It means the body is healthy and it has a normal reaction to a pest. High temperature, mobilization of immunoprotection mechanisms, is a normal reaction.

Therefore I think we should see a danger. We should mobilize ourselves on an antifascist basis. We need an antifascist front, if you want. On an antifascist basis we are prepared to cooperate: for example, I am prepared to cooperate with any parties and movements in the new Federal Assembly, in particular and especially, with the Communists. Incidentally, communists have always been against fascism. We can look differently at our communist past in the Soviet Union, but nobody can take away the fact that communists were fighting against fascism in the World War II, communists in Europe, France, Yugoslavia, Poland and everywhere. It would be strange indeed if the Communists were to stand aside from antifascist movement.

We can also cooperate on many other issues, if the Communists, for example, are really interested in protecting the rights of the Russian-speaking population, and I think it is quite possible. We might disagree with the Communists on the issue of the economic reform. Some of us want it to be more liberal while the others want it to be done centrally. But as regards the protection of the Russian-speaking population, I think we can cooperate with the Communists. I think they will help us and vote for adopting a law, if, of course, they do have some beliefs and not a purely demagogical approach.

That is, I do not think that the so-called opposition in the Federal Assembly will immediately start flatly blocking everything. Yes, there will be issues on which there will be great and serious disagreements. But I also hope that there will be issues, inter alia in the field of foreign policy, where not interparty squabbles as regards who is in the opposition and who is in power but the interests of Russia and its people will get the upper hand.

This is absolutely obvious that it is in our interests to have a law on dual citizenship. It is in our interests to have a law on the involvement of peace-making forces. I can mention dozens of such laws. We need a civil code. We need to protect investments. This is also a non-party, if you want, and purely economical issue. And so on and so forth.

I do not think we should panic. I do not think we should give up for lost the Federal Assembly. It will convene.

I would like to repeat the following: If Zhirinovskiy continues to behave frivolously, if he carries on making fascist statements, I will not shake hands with him. We agreed on this at the meeting of the Russia's Choice bloc yesterday. If he gives up his fascist statements publicly, clearly, like an honest and solid man, and maintains his other disagreements, including moreover a demand for



my resignation as he is doing now—and this is his sacred right—there will be no problems.

[Correspondent] Thank you very much.

**Deputy Security Minister on 'Unexpected' Zhirinovskiy Win**

LD1612104593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1018 GMT 16 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Petrozavodsk, December 16 (TASS)—The success of nationalist leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy was unexpected for the Russian Security Ministry, First Deputy Minister Sergey Stepashin told reporters on Thursday [16 December].

He urged the prosecutor's office to examine nationalistic and insulting statements of the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party.

"The prosecutor's office cannot leave unnoticed the appeals of the LDPR leader instigating ethnic strife, advocating national exclusiveness and his direct insults of sovereign peoples and states", Stepashin said.

The deputy minister believes the people had supported Zhirinovskiy because most of them do not trust current authorities. "This is a good lesson for those who call themselves democrats", he said.

This is the second time of late that developments in Russia take the Security Ministry aback. Earlier it had confessed that the armed opposition revolt in October in Moscow was also unexpected for it.

**Medvedyev: Constitution Unaffected by Adverse Voting**

LD1512214493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1412 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] The Head of the Presidential Administration's Territorial Department Nikolay Medvedyev sees no problem in the fact that in Russia's 8 republics less than 50 percent of the referendum participants voted for the new constitution. He explained in an interview with Interfax that votes "for" and "against" the basic law were counted "across the country," comprising 89 equal federation members.

By latest figures, the draft constitution was disapproved by Adygeya, Bashkiria, Dagestan, Kalmykia, Karachayevo-Cherkesia, Mordovia, Tuva, and Chuvashia. Besides, the referendum did not take place in Chechnya, Tatarstan, Komi, Ingushetia, and Khakasia (less than 50 percent of the electorate came to the polls in these republics).

In Medvedyev's opinion, the voters' refusal to support the draft should be blamed not on the constitutional provision concerning the status of republics but on the economic plight and recent strikes in Komi, relentless

nationalism in Tatarstan, and communists dominance in Mordovia, where "they have so far been in charge of parliament and government alike."

**Discusses Plans for Work With Parliament**

MK1512121093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 2

[Indira Dunayeva report under the "Power" rubric: "President's Administration Intends To Look After New Parliament"]

[Text] A meeting took place in the Parliament Center yesterday between Nikolay Medvedev, head of the president's staff for work with the territories, and representatives of electoral associations. He advised that the eight blocs will probably be seated in the Federal Assembly in the following order: the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR], Russia's Choice, the Russian Federation Communist Party, Women of Russia, the Agrarian Party, the Yavlinskiy bloc, the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, and the Democratic Party of Russia. Medvedev proposed to set up in the Parliament Center on Tsvetnoy Boulevard a center to prepare the first sessions of the Federal Assembly. He stated that the president's staff would give assistance in these preparations by providing funds, equipment, and experts. "Since in the given case there is no parliamentary continuity and no staff, this is a responsibility of the government's and president's staffs. We will probably assign personnel to each faction."

According to Medvedev, some draft laws are being prepared inside the apparatus—"these drafts could be used so that legislative work could start from the first sessions."

Thus, cashing in on the absence of continuity in the activities of parliament, presidential structures will try to have maximum impact there. In fact, parliament is also perceived as nearly one of their structures. It is not without reason that Nikolay Medvedev misspoke, referring several times to the section for relations with the Federal Assembly, as a section for work with the Federal Assembly. The orphan parliament has not been left without a guardian from the presidential staff.

This influence, however, would hardly be all that great: Representatives of nearly half the blocs, including the LDPR (Zh.), did not attend even this meeting.

**Expects LDPR To Rank Second or Third**

PM1512193993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Aleksandra Lutovskaya report: "Too Early for Zhirinovskiy To Celebrate Victory, Presidential Administration Administration Chief Believes"]

[Excerpt] The Liberal Democratic Party will probably rank second or third in Russia's State Duma in terms of the number of deputies, Nikolay Medvedev, leader of the



Presidential Administration's Administration for Work with the Territories, declared in an exclusive interview for INTERFAX.

Referring to data at the disposal of the Center for Current Information pertaining to a preliminary analysis of the results of the ballot for single-mandate electoral districts, N. Medvedev noted that so far results have come in from 193 districts. And there are 224 districts in all, not counting Chechnya. He announced that "Russia's Choice" has gained another 27 seats from single-mandate districts, while the "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin" bloc has gained a further six, and the Party of Russian Unity and Accord an additional two. As for the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR], three of its candidates have won in these districts, with 16 from the Agrarian Party and 12 from the Communist Party. Around 100 candidates stood as independents.

N. Medvedev stressed that they will also include many supporters of democratically oriented blocs, especially "Russia's Choice," from among the entrepreneurs and others.

These data, N. Medvedev said, have been arrived at without taking into account the results of the ballot for single-mandate districts in Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Krasnodar Kray. Results which he believes will boost the numbers of obvious supporters of "Russia's Choice" still further. [passage omitted]

#### **Yeltsin Aide on Need To Strengthen Ties With Republics**

*LD1512151993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1430 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow December 15 TASS—"After the Sunday elections it is most important for President Yeltsin to strengthen his alliance with the heads of Russia's territories, regions and constituent republics. Most of them have been elected to the upper chamber of the new Russian parliament—the Council of the Federation," ITAR-TASS was told by Emil Pain, head of a team responsible for the nationalities policy under the Presidential Council.

"Such an alliance is particularly necessary, because the Council of the Federation could neutralise the 'dangerous' State Duma. According to the new Constitution the upper chamber of the Russian parliament has the right to veto laws adopted by the lower chamber," he added.

Pain noted that the Liberal-Democratic Party's election success tended to destabilise the political situation both within Russia and outside it: "For instance, Poland has stepped up its preparations to join the North Atlantic alliance. Ukraine now has grounds to motivate its refusal to give up nuclear weapons by the danger of being forcibly incorporated into Russia again, as it was promised by Zhirinovskiy. The national-radical forces of

Tatarstan and Tuva now have additional arguments in favour of separatism after Zhirinovskiy's promise that he would do away with national-state formations". "As a matter of fact," Pain stressed, "people have voted heavily for the Liberal-Democratic Party in Russia's constituent republics. In the Adygei republic this party polled 18 per cent of the votes, in Buryatia—17 per cent, in Gornyy Altay—15 per cent, in North Ossetia—16 per cent, in Udmurtia—17 per cent, in Tatarstan—22 per cent, in Komi—24 per cent, and in Khakasia—26 per cent. "Russians had most probably voted for Zhirinovskiy in the constituent republics, because the LDP leader promised to protect their interests," Pain stated.

As to the attitude of the republics to the Constitution, it was supported by Buryatia, Yakutia, Udmurtiya, Marii El, Ingushetia, North Ossetia, and Kabardino-Balkaria. The stand of the north Caucasian peoples, Pain believes, was influenced by President Yeltsin's recent visit to the region. More than a half of the 21 constituent republics, including Tatarstan and Kalmykia, voted against the Constitution, which coincides with forecasts made on the basis of the results of the April referendum. Pain believes that the negative attitude of the republics to the Constitution is explained by the fact that "the symbolic concept of the state sovereignty of national-territorial units" was deleted from its text.

#### **Kabardino-Balkaria Leader Welcomes Constitution Vote**

*LD1512210993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1849 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Text] The president of the Russian Federation republic of Kabardino-Balkaria described the approval given to the new Russian constitution at the December 12 referendum as an historic event.

Valeriy Kokov said at a news conference in the republic's capital, Nalchik, on Wednesday [15 December] that the constitution provided guidelines for Russia's further development.

"In spite of all its shortcomings, the constitution will prevent the disintegration of the Russian Federation and lay the foundation for the further strengthening of the unity of Russia," he said.

Commenting on the fact that the constitution received a majority vote in Kabardino-Balkaria despite some resistance to the referendum in the republic, Kokov said: "By choosing law and order instead of uncertainty and chaos, the people of Kabardino-Balkaria proved to be wiser than many of the political leaders of the republic."

Kokov said the success of the Liberal Democratic Party at the elections to the State Duma should not be exaggerated. With the new constitution having been approved, the presence of 60 Liberal Democrats in parliament would be "no tragedy," he said. "The results of the elections should simply give politicians reasons for serious reflections," Kokov said.

He said the democrats' defeat had been caused by their disunity and the failure of their reforms to have any tangible positive effect.

Kokov said he equally sympathized with Russia's Choice, the Agrarian Party and the Women of Russia movement but had voted for the Party of Russian Unity and Concord because it was led by a person from Kabardino-Balkaria, Sergey Shakh-ray, a "young and promising politician."

#### **Constitution Not To Take Effect in Chechnya**

LD1512204293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1849  
GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] The Constitution of the Russian Federation will not be enacted on the territory of the Chechen republic, according to the Foreign Ministry of this self-proclaimed North Caucasian republic. "The Chechen state recognizes only the Constitution of its own country," a ministry's statement says.

The ministry was confident that Russia will never again hold neither its elections, nor referendums in the Chechen republic.

At the same time, the ministry appealed on the world community to "help the Chechen people to repel the gross dictatorial ways and pressure by the Russian empire attempting to preserve its colonial regime in Chechnya by questioning the very existence of the Chechen state."

#### **Bashkir President: Zhirinovskiy Victory Rings 'Alarm'**

LD1512205293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1849  
GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] In an interview with INTERFAX today, Bashkir President Murtaza Rakhimov described the unexpectedly high rating of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR) at the December 12 elections as a very dangerous phenomenon, an "alarm ring."

In his opinion, "this shows the regretfully low level of the development of our society, if parties or individuals preaching totally unacceptable, extremist paths for Russia's development, come to power based on populist slogans."

According to his own statement, Rakhimov voted in favor of Sergey Shakh-ray's Party for Russian Unity and Concord. The president pointed out that this very party, demanding wider rights for regions, aroused his warmest sympathies. It is not accidental that Shakh-ray's party came in third in the federal lists in Bashkiria.

#### **Tatarstan Concerned Over Zhirinovskiy's Success**

LD1512193193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1851  
GMT 15 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Sorokin]

[Text] Kazan December 15 TASS—"Although the elections and referendum failed to take place in Tatarstan, the republic will be given an opportunity to hold in 12 weeks elections to the Federation Council, which were disrupted because of insufficient number of registered candidates", Tatar Parliament Chairman Farit Mukhametshin told TASS on Wednesday [15 December]. Quite naturally, the speaker said, a question arises about how to bring the Russian and Tatar constitutions to conformity, since certain articles contradict each other. There should not be any tragedy, Mukhametshin believes.

Commenting on the line-up of blocs in the state дума, the Tatar parliament chairman said he was concerned over the victory won by Zhirinovskiy's party.

#### **Yakutia President Concerned by Vote for 'Imperial Forces'**

MK1612114093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Dec 93 p 3

[Radik Batyrshin report under the "Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)" rubric: "Our People Have Confirmed Their Devotion to Democracy." The Majority Is for the Party of Russian Unity and Accord and Russia's Choice"]

[Text] "I am proud that the freezing weather of 65 degrees below zero did not deter 64.6 percent of our voters from coming to the polls," stated Republic of Yakutia (Sakha) President Mikhail Nikolayev to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA. According to him, 53 percent of all the republic's residents who took part in the voting said "yes" to Russia's new constitution. The Party of Russian Unity and Accord and the Russia's Choice bloc drew the biggest sympathies of the republic's citizens. But the Sakha (Yakutia) president is worried about the outcome of voting on party lists. In his opinion, "a measure of success for the imperial forces leads to the conclusion that the new constitution of Russia should be revised with a view to implementing the Federation Treaty." Mikhail Nikolayev believes that the Federation Treaty should be put at the same high level as the Russian Federation Constitution." Commenting on the number of votes received by the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR], the president of Sakha thought that this had been helped by "a split among the democratic forces over the ambitions of some leaders." He said that "people in Russia should change their mind; one cannot go on believing populist slogans." In Nikolayev's opinion, the LDPR leaders' election campaign leads to the conclusion that "these politicians are irresponsible in all respects."

### Party Reaction

#### Zhirinovskiy, LDPR Leaders Take 'Short Vacation'

! 01612131493 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1200 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Vladimir Zhirinovskiy himself has taken a short vacation for the time being following the election campaign and the elections and is at the moment resting in the Moscow area. This was reported to INTERFAX at the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] headquarters.

At the insistence of the party's chairman, the entire party leadership has also been sent on leave until next Monday.

#### Zhirinovskiy Protests Over TV Program

LD1512175493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1729 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow, 15 December, TASS—Nationalist leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, whose party has secured a major success in parliamentary elections, sent a protest to chairman of the state-run "Ostankino" TV network Vyacheslav Bragin for comparing his Liberal Democratic Party with that of Nazi leader Adolf Hitler.

Zhirinovskiy said that the airing of the "Hawk" documentary, produced by Pavel Chukhray, on the eve of elections was insulting for him. But the press service of the "Ostankino" network rejected the accusations on Wednesday. It said the comparison with the party to Hitler was voiced in the film by a close comrade-in-arms of Zhirinovskiy.

The airing of the film a day before elections was resolutely criticised by Zhirinovskiy's opponents. Grigoriy Yavlinskiy said it was additional advertising for the Liberal Democratic Party at the expense of the state.

#### LDPR Figures on Security Issues

LD1512170793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1526 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] The 47-year-old LDP [Liberal-Democratic Party] leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, himself a lawyer, has explained his passion for political cooperation with the military by emotional reasons. "I served in the Army and so did two of my brothers, now retired. The Russian Army has always been the honor of the country and its officers formed an integral part of the Russian intelligentsia," he told INTERFAX.

Vice-Premier of LDP's shadow cabinet Aleksandr Vengerovskiy, also a retired officer, reaffirmed that "the new cabinet will focus on beefing up the armed forces more than the present government."

LDP candidate for the post of security minister Sergey Abeltsev, himself a former KGB officer retiring on "ideological grounds," said the protection of state secrets and maintenance of the existing balance of forces was an outstanding task facing Russia. As the first move, the new cabinet will take measures to stiffen national security, he said.

Abeltsev wants to recall "former KGB officers who left the agency for political reasons" with an aim of putting an end to the country's rising crime. He said the new agency would never become a tool of political surveillance.

Zhirinovskiy himself said he would never allow the Russian Army to be used for expansionism or resolving international conflicts. "I will not allow even a single drop of Russian blood to be shed," he said.

Apart from army roots, there are pacifist pages in Zhirinovskiy's life record, LDP officials say. A graduate from Moscow University's Institute for Asian and African Studies and having command of English, French, German and Turkish and winning a law degree from Moscow University later, Zhirinovskiy had worked for the Soviet Peace Committee and as head of the Peace Publishers' legal department.

#### Zhirinovskiy on Yeltsin, Geopolitics

MK1612104093 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 16 Dec 93 p 4

[Interview with Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, by Sergey Kaverin; place and date not given: "V. Zhirinovskiy: 'Politics Is the Art of Deception'"]

[Text] [Kaverin] Vladimir Volfovich, our readers would be very interested to know your attitude toward the army and the navy.

[Zhirinovskiy] I have always admired our navy and army. The French or the Bulgarians, you know, would have long gone begging around the world if their armies were in such conditions as ours.

[Kaverin] Your criticism of B. Yeltsin's position and his course is well known, but what constructive alternatives can you propose?

[Zhirinovskiy] Yeltsin has no concept. He is a surgeon who had donned a white gown and begun performing an operation without medicine or knowledge. It does not take much intellect to dissolve kolkhozes! They (the democrats) are the destroyers. For creation, other forces are needed. Like us—our party! We will sell weapons and we will not be ashamed of it. Over two years! Over two years the democrats have sold a mere two diesel submarines. They have ruined the enterprises. Now they are selling Cuba, and cheaply. An enterprise or a research institute could have bought a hotel or a restaurant there. Here is collective ownership for you in the flesh: Charter a flight from Vnukovo to Havana and go take a vacation



with a whole family. Today, however, Bulgaria, for one, is in a state of ruin, being bought by Turkey lock, stock, and barrel.

[Kaverin] What would you do first if you came to power?

[Zhirinovskiy] Our republics must be made to come back. How? By not being kind toward them. Kindness is a good quality for a human being but a very bad one for a state. We are buying third-rate cotton from Uzbekistan at world prices! And the way to act here is this: Two Zhiguli cars for your garbage cotton and that is it! They will starve? Let them. Tribal societies should starve. And why ever should they be living at the expense of the civilized Russian nation?! Novotallinn port cost 4 billion—and they gave it away! In a fine gesture. And now we are building our own port in Luga, overstraining ourselves, while the Estonians are stealing. A nation of 900,000—and all are stealing! A nation of thieves! Politics is the art of deception, and one should not be embarrassed by this. As long as we are kindly and decent looking in the eyes of the "world community," our people will go about hungry and wretched.

It is difficult to build borders today. Wars need to be provoked between clans and tribes. There is no need even to wage active combat action for that: All it takes is not to interfere. They will themselves annihilate each other: the Armenians, the Azeris; the Turks, the Armenians; the mountain peoples, the Turks; the Tajiks, the Uzbeks; and so forth. And then they, or rather those who remain alive, will come running to Russia asking to take them back with the status of a volost [territorial subdivision of uyezd] or uyezd [administrative subdivision of a guberniya]!

The most important thing today is our weapons—the army and the navy. This is mighty power! The best borders are maritime. Britain is a maritime power and the best borders are sea borders! Mongolia—no sea borders—a miserable third-rate state! Today we have no colonies; meanwhile colonies provided the lion's share of revenues for Britain, for instance. At present we are not only getting anything from the colonies but ourselves are feeding these impoverished appendices. And we would be well advised to think about colonies.

#### **Zhirinovskiy Opposes Interference in Yugoslavia**

LD1512195193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1927  
GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow, 15 Dec (TANJUG)—Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, the leader of the Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia, which has a big lead at the parliamentary elections, on Wednesday came out against foreign military interference in the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. He told journalists that it is necessary to reach a compromise through bilateral and multilateral talks.

According to him, the new Russian Government should find ways to end the war in the Balkans. Zhirinovskiy

believes that sanctions are not the way for solving problems and that they should be lifted.

The UN Security Council sanctions, imposed late last May, are mainly affecting the innocent Yugoslav population, especially the children and the elderly who are facing shortages of the basic foodstuffs, medications and heating fuel.

During his election campaign, Zhirinovskiy strongly criticized the Russian foreign policy so far, and on Tuesday he said that the new government should not include Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev.

#### **Zhirinovskiy Wants Moldova as Province**

AU1612123493 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in  
Romanian 14 Dec 93 p 1

[Interview with Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, by Mihai Vicol in Moscow "in December": "Moldova Will Become a Province of the Russian Federation"]

[Text] [Vicol] We would like to know your position regarding the Republic of Moldova and Romania.

[Zhirinovskiy] Moldova will become a province of the Russian Federation, with the capital city at Tiraspol. As far as Romania is concerned, we are conducting a policy of partnership.

[Vicol] Will you strike alliances with other parties?

[Zhirinovskiy] We will have no partners. In Parliament, we will conduct our own policy.

[Vicol] What is your and your party's position regarding Ukraine and Kazakhstan?

[Zhirinovskiy] Ukraine has not been, and will not be independent. It will be one of our provinces. The same applies to Kazakhstan, which will become a province within southern Siberia.

[Vicol] Who can become member of your party?

[Zhirinovskiy] We do not make our selection on ethnic or religious bases. Anyone wishing to become a member can join our party.

[Vicol] Mr. Zhirinovskiy, what is your opinion about the fate of the Tiraspol prisoners?

[Zhirinovskiy] They are guilty. With the help of Romanian weapons, they committed crimes and raped women. The Chisinau bandits must pay for that. Suvorov [Aleksandr Suvorov, 18th century general] freed Moldova from the Turks. Russian blood was shed there; that land is Russian.



**New Members Joining**

PM1612094393 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA  
PRAVDA in Russian 16 Dec 93 p 1

[Report by Dmitriy Babich: "Why Am I Not a 'Falcon,' Why Do I Not Fly"]

[Text] It was difficult to force one's way through yesterday at the headquarters of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] in Rybnikovskiy alley. People kept arriving on the fourth floor to join the party. The small run-down little room above the luxurious rock music store was not large enough to accommodate all the newfound liberal democrats so they formed a line in the corridor, shyly peeking into the little room, where a young woman with red hair was sticking photographs onto membership cards one after the other. To be imbued with the ideas of the Liberal Democratic Party you merely have to pay 200 rubles and then contribute 1 percent of your wages.

**Russia's Choice Urges 'Anti-Fascist' Coalition**

LD1512203793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1849  
GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] The executive committee of the Russia's Choice bloc has called to create a broad coalition of all anti-fascist forces whatever their views. In a statement released in Moscow Wednesday [15 December], the Choice executive committee says that following the December 12 elections, the political situation changed drastically in the country and that society's gravest disease, fascism, earlier going unnoticed, had risen to the surface.

Analyzing that current situation, Russia's Choice comes to the conclusion that the defeat of the democratic forces in the elections was caused by their split and their inability to evaluate the real threat of fascism and to rally against it. Disputes on whose fault is the greatest, are out of place. All reformist forces are to blame, says the statement.

Russia's Choice calls on the democratic forces to put aside all ambitions and disagreements, overcome mutual lack of understanding and rally into a united front in the State Duma. It asks representatives of the democratic blocs in the government to close their ranks.

**Branch Urges New Party of Liberal Reforms**

LD1512135593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1249  
GMT 15 Dec 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Yulia Kantor]

[Text] St. Petersburg, 15 December, TASS—The St. Petersburg branch of the election coalition Russia's Choice has issued an appeal to all democratic organizations and population in Russia to establish an allied party of liberal reforms.

The results of the elections on December 12 exposed the weakness and dispersion of democratic forces. Communo-fascists took advantage of our inability to unite and conduct a well-organized electoral campaign, the appeal said.

The success of the Zhirinovskiy party is a graphic illustration of the danger of fascism looming over the country, the appeal said.

The results of the elections to the State Duma pose a threat to economic reforms and complicate Russia's international standing.

The statement says that in the present political situation it is evident that the country needs a powerful political party, a party of liberal reforms. Russia's Choice believes that such a party can provide a dependable alternative to communism and fascism. The Russia's Choice coalition can become the basis for the new party, the appeal says.

**Burbulis on Creation of New Party**

LD1512215693 Moscow Ostankino Television First  
Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] [Announcer] Gennadiy Burbulis commented on the postelectoral situation at a meeting of the executive committee of the Strategiya humanitarian and politico-logical center:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Russia After The Elections—this was the theme chosen for the meeting. Commenting on the results of the elections that have just been held, Gennadiy Burbulis, president of the Strategiya center, said:

[Burbulis] Superficially, this is an unexpected, but natural, shock. If you think about this soberly and seriously, it contains no particular revelations or shocks. There is a signal here. There is a sign of a possible tendency the development of which has its prospects. But at the same time, it is on the whole a salutary revelation of the danger for certain of those among us, and on the whole, for the country. We are not for shouting for help or for giving in to a panicky and thus, absolutely unobjective mood, but we are for finding various reserves to provide the country with stability in spite of this superficially shocking result.

[Correspondent] Replying to journalists' questions, Gennadiy Burbulis confirmed reports of the possible creation of a new political party on the basis of the Russia's Choice bloc.

[Burbulis] I personally am convinced that the constitution adopted at the referendum, the retention at its basis of the policy of economic reforms that we have upheld and the creation of a party that could become a clear-cut buttress for factional activity in the parliament. Here are three elements out of which real stability and order, which our voters wish so much for, are taking shape. [end recording]

**PRUA Leader Shakhray Holds News Conference**

*LD1512141993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1243 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Anna Melnikova]

[Text] Moscow, 15 Dec (ITAR-TASS)—The Party of Russian Unity and Accord (PRUA) accepts its part of the blame for the general defeat of the democratic forces at the elections, said Sergey Shakhray, leader of PRUA and deputy prime minister, at a news conference today

Speaking about the main reasons for the defeat, Sergey Shakhray said that "they lie, first and foremost, in the economy: People have received no explanations from the government about the difficulties still facing them. The reasons are also to be found in the ideological and the political tactics of Russia's Choice."

In Sergey Shakhray's opinion, "the State Duma will not resemble the former Congress of Russian People's Deputies." He supported the idea of creating "an antifascist alliance" of democratic forces in the government.

Sergey Shakhray said that "the democratic forces will not allow antireformists in the Duma to muster two-thirds of votes on a number of critical issues."

Answering a question from an ITAR-TASS correspondent, Sergey Shakhray said he does "not preclude a government reshuffle, like bringing in Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, for example."

**Results Will Promote Instability**

*LD1512172293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1412 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Text] Sergey Shakhray, Russia's Vice Premier and leader of the Party of Russian Unity and Concord, believes that Zhirinovskiy's relative victory at the elections is not an accidental one. As he said, "it is serious and long term." Speaking at a press conference on Wednesday in Moscow, he declared that Zhirinovskiy's success at the elections must be seriously counteracted because "Russia can become a factor of instability in the world."

Shakhray reported that the party headed by him intends to primarily submit a package of bills to combat crime, on local self-government and a Civic Code to the State Duma for consideration. He expressed opinion that the democratic wing in the future parliament would unite not on the organizational principle but regarding their attitude towards these of those legislative acts.

Speaking about future work in the parliament, Shakhray declared that he does not intend to cooperate with the Liberal Democratic party which, as he said, "stands closer to that line after which fascism begins." In his opinion, democratic forces in the State Duma will have the opportunity to block "opposition decisions." At the same time, he noted, it will be difficult for democrats "to pass" decrees aimed at the continuation of reforms. To

this effect he said that the president and head of the government are "urgently" working out the tactics of work with the future parliament.

The vice premier rejected statements that several republics which had failed to adopt the new Constitution threatened the country's integrity. There is another threat, he believes, "when communists and democrats start confrontation with weapons in hand in the center of Russia."

**Sees Support for Constitution as 'Main Result'**

*LD1512172893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1500 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Report by Sergey Suntsov on news conference by Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray on 15 December]

[Text] [Suntsov] The Party of Russian Unity and Accord got through. In the recent elections, it won the right to delegate its representatives to the Federal Assembly, its leader Sergey Shakhray stated today. The party intends to present three draft laws to the State Duma: a civil code, a law on the battle against crime, and a law on the development of local government.

[Begin Shakhray recording] We think that the main result was the Russian Federation constitution getting through. It lays the foundations for both Russian statehood and democratic principles in society to be strengthened. [end recording]

[Suntsov] Speaking about the preliminary election results, Sergey Shakhray stated that the party would not refuse to take its share of the responsibility for the general defeat of the democratic forces. Moreover, he stressed that the victory of the opposition blocs was only relative. The Party was ready to cooperate with anyone apart from Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party which Shakhray described as representing the threat of fascism. Sergey Shakhray acknowledged that the social base of support for the reforms had shrunk significantly on the eve of the elections.

**Grants Interview**

*LD1512192493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1643 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[By Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovsky, and Vladimir Shishlin, edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[Text] Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray, leader of the Party of Russian Unity and Concord, comments on the preliminary returns of the parliamentary election and constitution referendum in an interview with INTERFAX correspondent Vitaliy Dzhibuti.

Corr.: Does it seem more or less clear by now what the alignment of forces in both houses of the Federal Assembly will be like?

Sergey Shakhrai: It does. The preliminary results make it clear that most of those elected to the Federation Council are leaders of republics and regions. This means the Federation Council will apparently be a well-balanced upper house, consisting of people who are in authority today. Therefore, I believe the council will be a factor of political stability. I think both the president and government will have good contact with it.

As for the State Duma, that will most likely have a very complicated composition. None of the parties will have the majority there. Therefore, there may be most unexpected coalitions.

We already know approximately how seats in the house will be distributed. The final results of the election can't be very different from the preliminary ones we have now. Most likely, the majority of the Communist parliamentary group will form an alliance with the majority of the Liberal Democratic group.

Corr.: But both Communists and Liberal Democrats said before the election that there were irreconcilable contradictions between the platforms of the two parties.

S.S.: Yes, but nevertheless I think my forecast will come true: such coalitions will be based not on a party principle but on the same position different parties may take on a particular issue that is being debated.

In any case, if the Communists form a fifty-fifty bloc with Zhirinovskiy and his people, it may happen that the future of any draft law will depend on whether the Federation Council uses its right of veto or on whether the president signs that law. The State Duma can override a veto imposed by the president or the Federation Council, but it needs a two-thirds majority vote to do so. So there may be bitter struggles about future laws.

Corr.: Do you think the media should give those struggles live coverage?

S.S.: No, I think live coverage of State Duma sessions must be banned. Otherwise that wrangling will keep stirring up the whole nation. We already have this kind of experience.

Corr.: But a ban on the live coverage of parliament sessions is not the main condition for the efficient making of laws, is it?

S.S.: Of course not. Everything will depend on whether the government is able to take the initiative in law-making, as is the case in all democratic countries. It is the government that must work out and introduce to parliament most of the draft laws.

Corr.: How do you explain the fairly modest success of your party at the present election? Do you think you could have enlisted more support during your election campaign?

S.S.: I still take the view that the Party of Russian Unity and Concord must form no coalitions in parliament. Of

course, we should make proper conclusions and learn to withstand the fascist peril. I admit that I made some tactical errors during the election campaign. I think it's the greatest mistake the leaders of Russia's Choice are making now that they are trying to put the blame on others.

Of course, we could have more votes, and so could the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms, which mustered two million votes. What seems to me the main danger is the fact that the idea of national unity is still not the dominant one in our society. That is alarming.

Corr.: But doesn't Zhirinovskiy appeal for national unity?

S.S.: By voting for Zhirinovskiy people voted for their hope. There's a great deal he promised to people. And that means we still take promises very seriously.

But there's more to it than just that. I believe that the more radical economic reforms, the more "shock therapy" measures the government proposes the more votes will go to Zhirinovskiy.

The ideological basis for the election campaign of Russia's Choice suffered a fiasco. We have Mikhail Poltoranin and Gennadiy Burbulis to thank for bringing society to a point where it had to choose between the black and the white. Channel One of our television, for example, featured only three parties. All the political commentary, all the news,—nearly everything except for advert videos,—focused on only those three parties, which included the Liberal Democrats. As for Zhirinovskiy's campaign programs, those were designed as propaganda against him. As a result, those three parties top the list. And the anti-Zhirinovskiy propaganda didn't work either, as we see.

The Party of Russian Unity and Concord gave up fighting for its rights in Moscow and went to the provinces instead. Otherwise we wouldn't even have the six percent of the vote that we have won.

Corr.: Can your parliamentary group cooperate with Zhirinovskiy and his team in parliament?

S.S.: No, that's impossible because the Liberal Democrats are a nationalist party which would inevitably lead Russia to fascism if it came to power. Zhirinovskiy himself seems to realize that there can be no such cooperation.

But the Russians voted for the Liberal Democratic Party, and therefore I must be polite to him. I must respect the electorate. This means there will be a dialog. That is inevitable. I think we can also have a dialog with the women's movement and the Agrarian Party. Nor would I rule out that we would form a coalition with the Communists.

Corr.: What effect will the victory of the Liberal Democrats have on our relations with the rest of the world?



S.S.: The effect is bound to be negative. I think the country is in for isolation. We are in for a difficult time. There will be a threat of civil war and serious upheavals. We must draw serious conclusions from the present situation. In particular we need a reshuffle in the executive branch. I've always been saying that Russia's Choice, by its radical steps in the economy, strengthened the positions of Zhirinovskiy's party.

Corr.: In other words, you believe we need a reshuffle in the government, many of whose key figures stood in the election as candidates from Russia's Choice?

S.S.: Yes, I believe a government reshuffle is essential. I think the president and premier should make a thorough analysis of the results of the election, which, I'm sure, is what they're doing. In any case, we ought to be thinking of forming a civilized coalition government.

I can't see the State Duma having a majority that will back the policy of the president and premier. What they'll have to do, I think, is try to win support in the house for each particular draft law they put before it.

#### Interviewed by KURANTY

MK1612123093 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 16 Dec 93 p 1

[Interview with Sergey Shakhray, leader of the Party for Russian Unity and Accord, PRUA, by Konstantin Katanyan under the "Only for KURANTY" rubric: "PRUA: An Autonomous Faction"]

[Text] The elections have shown that the Party of Russian Unity and Accord [PRUA] has come into being, PRUA leader Sergey Shakhray thinks.

[Shakhray] The PRUA does not cast off responsibility for the general defeat of the democratic forces in the elections. In order to find the main reasons for it, one should look to the economy.

The organizational unification of the democrats in the Duma would be an exercise in futility. The PRUA did not enter the election campaign in order to cease its existence in the parliament. Our Duma faction will be made up of 20 to 25 people.

[Katanyan] The Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] and its leader have often been called fascists. Do you agree with this definition, and will the PRUA be willing to cooperate with the LDPR in parliament?

[Shakhray] Being a cautious person, I can talk so far only about the threat of fascism. The LDPR has come closest to the line beyond which fascism begins. Cooperation with this party is out of the question, the only thing we can talk about is that one has to use correct methods of conducting a dialogue. There are millions of Russian citizens behind the LDPR, their opinions should be respected, but at the same time we should conduct work among them and explain to them that the promises they

have come to believe will cost \$2 trillion. Turning the LDPR into a bogeyman, however, means giving Zhirinovskiy an extra chance.

[Katanyan] Will you continue the process of party organization or will you limit yourself to creating a faction in the Duma?

[Shakhray] It is only now that a second stage of setting up the Party of Russian Unity and Accord begins. We are not limiting ourselves to setting up a parliamentary faction, but will continue to strengthen 71 PRUA regional branches, focusing on preparations for regional and local elections.

#### PRUA Member Comments

MK1512125093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 1

[RIA-signed report under the "In Brief" rubric: "Government To Be Reshuffled"]

[Text] "Although the preliminary results of the elections for the State Duma came as a surprise to many people, they could have been guessed in advance," said Russian Labor Minister Gennadiy Melikyan, who represents the Party of Russian Unity and Accord [PRUA]. According to the minister, the definitive makeup of the State Duma is not yet clear, but the opposition will apparently have a majority. "At any rate, changes should take place in the government," Melikyan said. He emphasized that in the face of a formidable opposition in parliament the democratic factions should "closely coordinate their actions, if not form a single bloc. The PRUA is ready for this collaboration," he pointed out.

#### Yavlinskiy Advocates Speeding Up Reforms

BR1512141093 Rome L'UNITA in Italian 15 Dec 93 p5

[Interview with Yabloko bloc leader Grigoriy Yavlinskiy by unidentified correspondent in Moscow; date not given: "If Yeltsin Seeks Allies for His Government, He Must Now Opt for a Clear Policy"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [L'UNITA] So Zhirinovskiy has won hands down...

[Yavlinskiy] He has won, but I would not go so far as to call his victory a sensation, because it was only to be expected that the population would respond in more or less this way to the living conditions that have prevailed over the last two years. It was also to be expected because policies have been too indefinite and vague for too long. It has not been clear what the military position was, nor foreign policy, nor the nature of relations with the former Soviet republics, and there has been no sense of direction in domestic political life. These are the same reasons that brought people to the White House in October.

[L'UNITA] And what statement did the electorate intend to make with this vote?



[Yavlinskiy] Things that give rise to a strong sense of rejection are happening in this country. It is not the goals of the market economy that are being rejected but the ways and forms in which these reforms are being implemented. This long dispute has had its apotheosis in the battle between the executive and parliament, the bloodshed, and then these elections with their strange, incomprehensible rules. The population wanted to express its views in one way or another, it wanted to have a say in the decisions of the authorities, but all it was allowed to do was vote in referenda in support of a person. What with one referendum and another, the population found itself ignored ...

[L'UNITA] And went and voted for Zhirinovskiy ...

[Yavlinskiy] Quite so. The authorities do not accept democratic, constructive opposition, as the whole course of the election campaign has shown. As democratic opposition is unwelcome, we have had a national-socialist opposition. It was a specific form of protest.

[L'UNITA] Who were the protest voters?

[Yavlinskiy] In my opinion they were the ones who stayed away from the referendum of confidence in Yeltsin, for example. This time they turned out, and they voted against him. The nationalists' success is due to misjudgments on the part of the country's leaders, but also to a strange reaction. However, the vote in favor of the lists has affected only half the Duma; at the end of the day, the balance will not have been overturned. Of course, it has been a very serious warning, and it follows that an alliance will be necessary, indeed indispensable.

[L'UNITA] What will parliament be able to do?

[Yavlinskiy] Once the constitution has been adopted, its role will diminish, as the president and the executive will have the lion's share. I think that this government will remain, because it is quite clear where Yeltsin's sympathies lie. Parliament will have no say in day-to-day life. The main thing is for it to organize its work in such a way that it will be in a position to operate. I advocate uniting all possible forces to pursue, indeed to speed up, the reforms.

[L'UNITA] What will the president's role be?

[Yavlinskiy] In my view, Yeltsin himself is now the key figure; the whole political situation will depend on the action he takes. I do not see presidential elections as an immediate issue at this particular moment.

[L'UNITA] What is your view of Gaydar's proposal for an anti-Zhirinovskiy alliance?

[Yavlinskiy] If we had joined forces before the election, the population would not have voted for us because it would not have understood our opposition to the policy behind the reforms. On the contrary: It would not have turned out to vote. In any case, my votes would have gone neither to Zhirinovskiy nor to Zyuganov. Our electorate thinks that, while there must be a move

toward democracy and reform, it must take a different form. These people believe that there must be an alternative. Democracy also means alternation. My view is that our votes extended the spectrum of the democratic forces.

[L'UNITA] All in all, you maintain that Gaydar's election tactics were wrong?

[Yavlinskiy] I do indeed. Throughout the campaign they kept repeating that we were all the same, candidates and manifestos alike. But the opposition had a variety of goals, the Communists going one way, the Agrarian Party another, "Women of Russia" yet another, and so on ...

[L'UNITA] But are you ready to form a coalition with Gaydar?

[Yavlinskiy] You cannot build a coalition as an end in itself, especially in conditions like these. You form a coalition when the parties involved share a common, though not necessarily an identical, vision. For example, what sort of a coalition is the current governing group, in which one component is building communism, another capitalism, and the third its own place in the sun? The coalition should be formed by parties that agree on the pace of reform, interpreted not just as financial stabilization, which is what Gaydar takes it to mean, but also as the abolition of monopolies, freedom of competition, and the reform of the state.

[L'UNITA] What error do you lay at your own door?

[Yavlinskiy] I failed to convince the voters that a democratic alternative is possible. I am not talking about paddling in the Indian Ocean, like Zhirinovskiy, but about tackling reform in a different way in our country: without bloodshed, without strife, with great difficulty, but with a clear vision of the future and using transparent methods to achieve it.

#### **Shaposhnikov Explains Reasons for RDRM's Failure**

*MK1512110593 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 2*

[Interview with Air Force Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, former commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces and a leader of the Russian Democratic Reform Movement (RDRM), by Sergey Kaverin; place and date not given: "Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov: 'Democrats Have Been Seized by Ambitions...'" ]

[Text] [Kaverin] Yevgeniy Ivanovich, how do you assess the results of these elections; are there any hopes left that the RDRM will still clear the 5-percent hurdle?

[Shaposhnikov] I will concede that the results came to us as a surprise, but I think that there is no reason to panic. These elections should be a lesson to us. As for the RDRM, I do not think that it will win 5 percent. Unfortunately...

[Kaverin] How do you explain the current situation in which the RDRM has found itself?

[Shaposhnikov] I do not even know. Ours are all worthy people... Maybe we have come up with the wrong first troika on the party list...

[Kaverin] How would you account then for the overwhelming success of Liberal Democratic Party of Russia leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy?

[Shaposhnikov] Zhirinovskiy conducted a more able and professional electoral campaign. The RDRM, "Russia's Choice," and other democratic blocs looked sluggish against this background. Zhirinovskiy found a possibility to influence directly certain sections of society, something we failed to achieve. Presently, the Russians have been missing such a clear-cut and decisive raising of questions, but whether this is feasible or not is presently out of the question.

[Kaverin] Do you think Zhirinovskiy stands a chance of becoming president in 1996?

[Shaposhnikov] Unless the democratic forces draw a lesson from what has happened and join forces, I think he does. Currently, every democrat is daydreaming about becoming president in the future; the democrats have been seized by ambitions. It is time to put an end to this!

[Kaverin] What are the RDRM's plans in the wake of the elections?

[Shaposhnikov] We do not plan to dissolve ourselves, nor will we forgo political activity. The RDRM will lend its support to Russia's democratic forces and reform course.

#### **Travkin Interviewed on Zhirinovskiy, Russia's Choice**

LD1512204693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1849 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] In an interview with INTERFAX today, the leader of the Democratic Party of Russia (DPR), Nikolay Travkin, called the preliminary election returns "a political disaster which has struck Russia." At the same time, he does not believe that the Liberal Democratic Party won the elections due to the democrats' failure to agree. The true reason is people's skepticism turning into anger. People voted in favor of Zhirinovskiy out of spite following the failure of the current economic policy, Travkin believes.

"History has never seen born Stalins, those who already have power turn into Stalins," Travkin pointed out. "Here we have Zhirinovskiy delivering us a ready-made Stalin, this looks a bit comic," he added.

"In the president's place, I would choose one of the regions where Zhirinovskiy had a convincing victory to

appoint him governor. In three weeks, not only buses, but also sewer facilities would be at a stand-still there," Travkin is convinced.

The mistake Russia's Choice and other centrist blocs, including the Democratic Party, made was that they underestimated Zhirinovskiy's party. "I could not even imagine such a nightmare as the Liberal Democratic Party garnering even 10 percent of the votes," he said.

Commenting on the appeal by the leader of the Russia's Choice bloc, Yegor Gaydar, to create an anti-fascist coalition of all political and social forces, Travkin said the victory of LDPR was a "product of Gaydar's thoughtless economic policy." The main thing to do now is to immediately adjust it. This is the guideline Travkin's faction will stick to in its activities in the parliament.

Travkin said the position of Grigoriy Yavlinskiy seemed reasonable to him, and he intended to propose to this renown economist the setting up of a united faction in the parliament.

The Democratic Party of Russia also shares many views with Communists and Agrarians. Travkin hoped that Russia's Choice will also arrive at serious conclusions regarding the current situation. "It is only with the faction of the Liberal Democratic Party that no cooperation is possible under any circumstances," Travkin stressed.

The Democratic Party's leader regretted Boris Yeltsin's failure to outline his own political views so far. "How is society to take this? Why is the president keeping silent while Zhirinovskiy states he has agreed with the president?" Travkin asked.

#### **Civic Union's Volskiy Assesses Implications of Vote**

LD1512233593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2038 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] The election returns do not mean a "defeat of the democratic and reformist forces, but a lack of credibility to those who proclaimed themselves the only guarantors of democracy and reforms," the leader of the election bloc "Civic Union for Stability, Justice and Progress," Arkadiy Volskiy, told a press conference in Moscow today.

Civic Union failed to overcome the 5-percent barrier, but counts on 25-30 deputies in the State Duma elected in single-mandate constituencies, according to Volskiy. The bloc also intends to attract some of the independent deputies.

Volskiy disagreed with those who consider the December 12 election returns as the "success of fascist forces." In his opinion, "this is insulting for people who voted in favor of Zhirinovskiy out of despair and are far from any ideology." Volskiy believes Zhirinovskiy owes his success to the "consistent and ingenious escalation of populism which ensured success for "Democratic Russia" in

1990-91." Volskiy noted he himself could not "tell lies and pledges" like Zhirinovskiy. He called the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] leader's intention to stop the conversion of defense enterprises absolute raving nonsense.

"How can he speak of this when military orders have decreased by 67 percent and the number of troops slashed in half?" he asked.

The Civic Union's leader said he did not see a possibility to cooperate with Zhirinovskiy. He said he was unaware of whether Zhirinovskiy had a party of his own at all.

Civic Union believes that the government should voluntarily resign with the launching of the Federal Assembly. Civic Union would like the president to ask the current Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin to form a new government, enabling him to get rid of incompetent people or poor workers." However, Volskiy declined to indicate whom exactly he meant.

Among the reasons for Civic Union's failure at the elections, the responsibility for which Volskiy assumed upon himself, he highlighted the split among centrist forces.

#### **Borovy Accuses Zhirinovskiy of Hypnotizing Voters**

*LD1512133093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1111 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Text] The "Economic Freedom" Party Leader Konstantin Borovoy argues that the constituents who voted for Vladimir Zhirinovskiy were hypnotized by the Liberal Democrat leader himself and by Anatoliy Kashpirovskiy, a noted faith healer. In a statement for the press on Wednesday, he referred to information from psychotherapists and other experts.

To back up his claim, Borovoy recalled his rejection two years ago of an offer from Kashpirovskiy to use his services in campaigning for elections.

"Kashpirovskiy told me that by using the commands he gave during his televised sessions he could persuade more than 40 percent of voters to do as he told them. He instructed me that my basic tool should be a keynote to be repeated by me in my political statements or by him on television to force constituents to obey orders," Borovoy said.

"It's quite obvious that Kashpirovskiy passed such keys on to Zhirinovskiy, who used them during his exposure on television." In his words, such keys were underlain by sexual symbols.

"It was apparently for the first time that such a huge audience was addressed for political purposes to change the state system as a whole," Borovoy stressed. He compared such actions to a criminal offence and declared that "the place of these two people (Zhirinovskiy and Kashpirovskiy—IF)" is in jail rather than in

parliament." The mesmerized elections themselves, in his words, can least of all be recognized as free.

#### **Women of Russia Leader Comments on Results**

*LD1512144593*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 1322 GMT on 15 December, in its "Mayak Panorama" program, broadcasts a five-minute recorded interview with Alevtina Fedulova, leader of the Women of Russia association, by the "Panorama" announcer. In answer to a question, Fedulova says her movement did not want to deceive its voters and go against its election promises, but, she adds, priorities might change. "We are concerned about the alignment of forces in parliament. We can see that they will be established and stable blocs—blocs which might find it difficult to find points of contact," she says.

She goes on to assert her movement's desire for independence, saying: "Today we believe we should remain ourselves, not because we want to be by ourselves, but because we can see and feel that we will need to cooperate with everyone." She adds: "We are very much against being manipulated, and also very much against being formally or informally mechanically attached to one association or another."

On Zhirinovskiy's recent remark to the effect that the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] was closest of all to the Women of Russia movement, Fedulova says: "Maybe the LDPR feels itself to be closest of all to us, and no one can prohibit anyone from feeling anything, but there is another side to this. We do not want a great deal of time to be spent working out the relations between all these blocs. We are going there [parliament] to work. We have all been voted in by the electorate. Some have more, some less support but, all the same, there are millions of people behind each of these blocs and those people must be taken into consideration."

Fedulova concludes by outlining the main aims of her movement: The economic reforms should continue, she says, adding that "but ultimately, both the market and the reforms are a means and not an end. We perhaps do need to live more modestly today, but not so modestly that it becomes a case of surviving." Social policy should be the top priority, as well as agriculture, food, and light industry, housing construction, education, and health-care and there should be joint efforts against crime, Fedulova states.

#### **To Cooperate if Interests Coincide**

*LD1512191893 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Text] So who are you with, Women of Russia? Journalists have now been putting that question, for the third day running, to representatives of the political movement that came fourth, according to the interim election results. At a meeting today, it was made clear that they are not with anyone. They are in the center. They have



their own program which is socially orientated. They are prepared to cooperate with all parties in the State Duma if their interests over particular issues coincide.

In the meantime, the Liberal Democratic Party and the Communist Party have already declared themselves in favor of joint work with Women of Russia. Such attention is, of course, pleasant for the women. They are even attracted by some of the strategic objectives of both, but their tactics discourage them. We shall never support extremism, Alevtina Fedulova, leader of the movement, has said. And if suddenly, today or tomorrow, one of the parties puts forward the Great Power notion and poses the question of conquering new lands for Russia—some have already made ready to end their march at the Indian Ocean—how will the women vote then?

[Begin recording of Alevtina Fedulova, leader of the Women of Russia movement] You know, despite everything, we imagine the country as a family. And in each person, whatever the overall situation might be like, it may even be projected on to the family, and each one of us will wonder whether he would send his own son, whether that would be useful to his own family. We shall approach issues from that point of view. [end recording]

#### **Agrarian Party Leader on Land Legislation**

LD1512184693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1648 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] [Announcer] The chairman of the Agrarian Party of Russia, Mikhail Lapshin—incidentally, his party is in fourth place—talks about how his party plans its work in the State Duma:

[Lapshin] I believe that land relations are of such importance and of such complexity that you cannot regulate them with a decree. To regulate them you can use legislation; legislation that has been worked out with the utmost care in order to avoid there being any levity in the approach to matters of the land, because this is a question of life and death. To avoid speculation, to avoid all these funds [fondy], to avoid the idea of one person being an owner and another, if you will pardon the expression, sweating his guts out for him, because these reasons our party is making very serious preparations for work in the Duma and for work, first and foremost, on land legislation that will regulate, with the utmost thoroughness, land relations as very complex relations between people, so that there will be a peaceful transition onto new forms of farming—without bloodshed.

#### **International Reaction**

##### **U.S. Views Zhirinovskiy With 'Amazement Verging on Disgust'**

PM1612093593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[Report by Vladimir Nadein: "Cooperating With Zhirinovskiy Will Hardly Be Acceptable to the United States"]

[Text] Washington—A feverish review of their view of certain Russian politicians' potential and prospects and the overall direction of U.S. diplomatic strategy is being carried out within many government establishments in Washington.

After his brief ad hoc discussion of Russia with reporters at a Pennsylvania college, where he was delivering a speech on the problems of international trade, President Clinton still had a smile on his face, according to a NEW YORK TIMES observer. The President ranked the adoption of the Constitution among Boris Yeltsin's productive efforts, congratulating him on it, while the success of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party [LDP] was described as a "reminder to the West of how difficult the move to democracy has been for the Russians."

Once again addressing the Western community, the president said that the election results should serve as a reminder of how treacherous the territory that President Yeltsin has to study is. Although Bill Clinton proclaimed the main result of these elections to be "the demise of the Soviet system," he did say that the ballot per se is a clear signal of the difficulties involved in transforming the old communist system into a market economy—particularly during a world recession.

The White House incumbent's quite obvious desire to underline the positive results of the elections was reflected in an official White House statement. However, administration representatives acknowledge that the election results have caught them unaware—bearing in mind the obvious victory for the ultranationalists, the communists, and other antireform blocs.

Amid the lively mass media discussion of the prospects for Russia's democratic development the U.S. president admitted that this was not so much a vote for Zhirinovskiy as a vote "against." Against whom? Although Clinton did not name names, it was however clear that he was referring to specific representatives of the Russian authorities, who have made a big thing of their admiration for the U.S. establishment.

Second, it was clear from the President's remarks that he is less willing than ever to talk about the details of his upcoming trip to Moscow. Third, he hinted that the emerging system of cooperation between the NATO countries and a number of Central European states known as "Partnership for Progress" needs, if not urgent change, then at least renewed reasoning behind it.

People in the U.S. capital will be watching with increased attention the practical steps taken to form the new Russian Cabinet. At the moment there is not the slightest indication that any U.S. Government or public organization may agree to even limited cooperation with politicians like Zhirinovskiy.

Zhirinovskiy will have to add a long list of foreign colleagues to his charges leveled at Russian journalists of allegedly distorting his political image. In restrained but



no less caustic tones THE NEW YORK TIMES front-paged a photograph and the beginning of a political biosketch of the LDP leader: "If his party had not won almost a quarter of the votes in the parliamentary elections, Vladimir Volfovich Zhirinovskiy might simply have disappeared from view as a gross parody of a primitive, ultraright-winger, fired by an inferiority complex and primitive nationalism, quick to abuse foreigners and intellectuals or those who have unjustly risen above him for all the failures and misfortunes that are quite inevitable in his case."

To be brief, even after Zhirinovskiy's impressive victory, which took everyone by surprise, he has been unable to elicit any sentiments in the United States other than amazement verging on disgust. The LDP leader's statement that he would take Alaska away from the United States and then compel the United States to pay for the use of natural resources is seen as a joke news item.

However, the strength and depth of the imperialist instincts of a considerable number of Russian voters is taken quite seriously here, provoking the first statements regarding the need for greater caution in downsizing the military apparatus and defense spending.

#### **FRG's Kohl Congratulates Yeltsin on Referendum**

*PM1512143793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 1*

[Unattributed untitled report under the rubric "Focus of Attention"]

[Text] Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin has had a telephone conversation with FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl. The head of the German Government congratulated Boris Yeltsin on the adoption of the new Russian Constitution. Chancellor H. Kohl again stressed the importance of continuing the reform policy in Russia, an FRG Government spokesman noted.

#### **Japanese Papers Print Zhirinovskiy Nuclear Threat**

*PM1512194993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Dec 93 First Edition p 1*

[Report by Maksim Yusin: "LDPR Leader Threatens Japan With Nuclear War"]

[Text] "It is 50 years since the Japanese experienced Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Perhaps they have forgotten about this? We can arrange new Hiroshimas and Nagasakis. I will have no hesitation in using nuclear weapons." On the morning of 15 December, Japan's main newspapers reprinted this quotation from an interview given by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy to a Hamburg radio station. This was reported by AFP's Tokyo correspondent.

In addition to Japan, Germany has also become a target of nuclear blackmail. The Liberal Democratic Party

[LDPR] leader has threatened to launch a strike against both countries if they intervene in Russia's domestic affairs.

In his years spent pursuing a political career, the "lawyer's son" has taught us to be surprised by nothing. However, this is a special case. He gave the interview after the elections. Therefore, we are not talking about just the opinion of a private individual with a lively mind, but the political stance of the leader of a party which will have one of the largest factions in the Duma.

For the first time since nuclear weapons appeared on earth, our country has acquired a leader openly threatening to use them. Whom does this maneuver seek to court? Those voters who fell for the demagogic promises and who have an affinity with Zhirinovskiy's political primitivism, itself enmeshed in extreme nationalism? But even these people cannot fail to realize that a nuclear strike against hostile forces "intervening in Russia's domestic affairs" will not go unanswered. If Zhirinovskiy is allowed to implement his ideas, mankind will find itself on the brink of World War III.

The LDPR leader lacked the patience to refrain from scandalous and bellicose statements even for a few days following the success at the elections. Even his ideological predecessor, upon acceding to power in Germany 60 years ago, behaved in a more circumspect manner initially.

Could it be that this is for the best? The more open Vladimir Volfovich is, the sooner the light will dawn for millions of our compatriots. Unfortunately, while he remains one of the key figures in Russian politics, our prestige in the world may be irreparably damaged.

#### **Iraqi Embassy Official Denies Aid to Zhirinovskiy**

*LD1512151393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1430 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Text] The Liberal Democratic Party's leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy received no financial aid for his election campaign from Iraq. Allegations to the contrary by some media sources are totally false, Ahmed Sahran, press secretary for the Iraqi Embassy in Moscow, told INTERFAX.

#### **Ukraine's Kravchuk Reserves Judgment on Elections**

*LD1512190393 Kiev UNLAR in Ukrainian 1200 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Text] Kiev, 14 Dec—After the press conference of the presidents of Moldova and Ukraine, Leonid Kravchuk replied to another series of questions from Ukrainian and foreign journalists.

[Unidentified Journalist] Do you know of the initiative of [Belarusian Supreme Soviet Chairman] Shushkevich? It is said that he has supposedly proposed that the CIS countries, apart from Russia, assemble to discuss the consequences of the elections?

[Kravchuk] As of now, if this were to happen, I would not support it. I repeat my opinion: I could only support this [assembly] when this [Russian] policy of revenge, for example, became state policy. Then I would not stop for anything. I think that the world would shudder at this. This would be a subject of discussion not just in CIS countries. And already now both analysts and politicians should be thinking about what this could lead to, for this concerns millions of people. This is a terrible thing, but one can make statements, hold discussions, and come to conclusions only when—and I repeat this—when this becomes state policy, and not that of an individual person or an individual party. One should not immediately condemn all of Russia on the basis of this, or all of the Russian people or all of Russian policy; this would simply be mistaken. And it would be simply inadmissible from the point of view of international principles. I am expressing my point of view as a human being. But when a political and state assessment has to be made—this should be a political and state assessment.

And questions were put at the microphones in the Supreme Council today. Kozyrev supposedly made some sort of statement there, but you [Kravchuk referring to himself] are silent. Well, excuse me. If Kozyrev is a candidate for deputy, who has gone and made a statement.... If he makes a statement as a minister, on behalf of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and this is published, then we will react immediately. But if as an individual, who is running, for example, for deputy, he says something somewhere possibly from populist considerations and wants to win more adherents, then should I really react to this?

#### **Kravchuk, Moldova's Snegur Comment**

PM1512192993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16  
Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Report "especially for IZVESTIYA" by Mariya Starozhitskaya and UNIAN: "Leonid Kravchuk and Mircea Snegur Consider Any Turn of Events Possible Following the Russian Elections"]

[Text] Kiev—Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk has been discussing the preliminary results of the Russian elections with Moldovan President Mircea Snegur during the latter's two-day visit to the Ukrainian capital.

The heads of state, finding complete mutual understanding on the issues of trade and economic cooperation and support for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independent development of their states, also found themselves unanimous in their evaluation of events in Russia.

"The election results were unexpected for me," Mircea Snegur said at a press conference. "It is a sign for the democratic forces—I am speaking of the Republic of Moldova—that nothing should be underestimated, in this case in domestic policy. As of today any turn of events is possible, as the elections in Russia showed.

Especially since we are also on the eve of early elections—they will take place 27 February in Moldova and 27 March in Ukraine. In our country, incidentally, they will be conducted according to the most democratic scheme—by party lists. I want people to correctly understand me, but just to let things slide is—to say the least—incorrect."

"I share this point of view on this question," Leonid Kravchuk went on. "I can only add that final conclusions can be drawn only after the Duma meets and the first decisions of the state organ are made—at the moment we are talking only of the political forces' election platforms. But I cannot say that I am not alarmed. Alarmed not so much for Ukraine—I venture to say that I am alarmed for Russia itself; after all, the shoots of independence—laws on democratic elections, including of the president—emanated from Russia.

"When 6 million Russians voted for the concept of the 'great and indivisible Russia of before February 1917' during the presidential elections, there was alarm. Now we are already talking of direct revanche, but I hope that the authorities and the president, that all Russia's forces, will rise up in defense of democracy. If this political current starts to dominate, I can say entirely frankly that this will be the beginning of huge cataclysms in the world, in Europe, of partitions and repartitions. At the present moment in time I view this as populism. For the time being. But I am alarmed that so many people lean toward the restoration of the Czarist empire. I believe that Russia's democratic forces will overcome this political current as a temporary phenomenon, as a retreat from Russia's course brought about by the difficult economic situation, on which everyone is speculating right now, including many political leaders."

#### **Snegur on 'Yeltsin's Victory'**

LD1512180093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1730  
GMT 15 Dec 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau, 15 December, TASS—Moldovan President Mircea Snegur views the adoption of a new Russian constitution by the December 12 people's vote as President Boris Yeltsin's victory. He made this statement at today's meeting of the Moldovan Supreme Security Council convened to discuss the preliminary results of the parliamentary elections in Russia. Snegur expressed confidence that relations between Russia and Moldova would be based on the norms of international law. This will enable the two countries to find a constructive solution to the problems existing between them.

Participants in the meeting also considered the increased social tensions in the republic following the sentence passed in Tiraspol to the "Ilascu Group" consisting of six supporters of the popular front accused of terrorism by the authorities of Moldova's breakaway Dniester region. The Moldovan leader said whatever political

views the convicts had, Moldova was determined to defend its citizens in full compliance with international norms of human rights. He expressed regret that the opposition had taken advantage of these people's tragedy with a view to destabilize the situation in the republic and to gain political weight in the election race.

#### **Kuchma Says Reforms Unsuitable**

*LD1512175693 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0817 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Text] Kiev—"The Constitution is, without doubt a step forward and we can only envy Russia," stressed Leonid Kuchma, a former prime minister of Ukraine and president of the Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs of Ukraine, in his assessment of the preliminary results of the Russian elections. Regarding the distribution of forces in the future Duma, in his view, Yegor Gaydar undoubtedly lost. "He was so sure of his impeccability that he overestimated his own capabilities, although he had even more than enough of them for victory."

As Leonid Kuchma explained in an interview with a UNIAN correspondent, although he himself shares Yegor Gaydar's views, "Russian reforms are unsuited for Ukraine, first of all, because in our state we do not have such a proper dollar layer as they do in Russia." Concerning the assessment of the results of Arkadiy Volskiy's Civic Union in the elections, which traditionally was friendly toward the Ukrainian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, and whose hopes for victory (particularly by Leonid Kuchma) were not justified, the former prime minister noted in an exclusive interview with a UNIAN correspondent: "I consider that they simply sat in the trenches at a time when others, including Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, worked very seriously, and gave a very serious lesson to the Ukrainian entrepreneurs who intend to play an active part in the upcoming parliamentary elections."

#### **National Assembly Body Statement**

*LD1512135193 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 2240 GMT 14 Dec 93*

[Text] Kiev, 14 Dec—It was announced by the press service of the Ukrainian National Assembly's Ukrainian National Self-Defense Organization [UNA-UNSO] that "the UNA wishes the same to happen as Zhirinovskiy does, which is the unification of Ukraine and Russia but under the leadership of Kiev. Choosing between 'enemies' and 'adventurists', Russian citizens gave preference to the latter. Zhirinovskiy's victory will speed up a civil war in Russia and we welcome this," the UNA emphasizes.

"Even if the Russian elections results in a CIS-wide war, it will in a way be a way out for Ukraine, since the existence of the Ukrainian state as it is now will have no better outcome," the UNA-UNSO continues. The UNA regards itself as the only force capable of counteracting Zhirinovskiy.

#### **Crimean Leader Comments**

*LD1512172493 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 2240 GMT 14 Dec 93*

[Text] Kiev, 14 Dec—Asked by a UNIAN correspondent to comment on the preliminary results of the elections in Russia, the chairman of the Organization of Crimean Tartar National Movement, Erdzhep Khayreddinov, said that the Liberal Democratic Party's victory would intensify separatist sentiments in the Crimea and to an even greater degree increase the gravitation of certain Crimean politicians towards Russia. Mr. Khayreddinov's view is that Zhirinovskiy's ascent to power will exacerbate the political situation in the Crimea and further sharpen relations between the Crimean Tartars and the Crimean administration, which may have unforeseeable consequences.

#### **Belarus Prime Minister on Results**

*LD1512184293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1643 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: by correspondents Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin, edited by Boris Grishchenko]

[Text] With the final results from Russia's constitutional referendum to come out on Friday [17 December], Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich has said he has already sent a message of congratulations to the Russian government on the adoption of the new Constitution.

The new Constitution will somewhat ensure that events in Russia take place within a certain framework, Kebich told Interfax. The Prime Minister declined to say what sort of relations his cabinet would be having with the new Russian legislature, though adding that as a rule, any government does business with its counterpart from another country.

On the LDP's [Liberal Democratic Party] unexpected showing in general elections, the Belarussian leader said Zhirinovskiy had been allowed too much time on the air. He thinks LDP opponents had overdone it by showing a film about Zhirinovskiy's activities on the eve of the polling day which depicted the LDP leader as an enemy.

Other government officials were likewise little perturbed by the LDP's victory.

Belarus will continue to transfer long-range nuclear missiles to Russia as scheduled despite Zhirinovskiy's victory, Deputy Chief of the National Security Department Valeriy Pavlov told INTERFAX.

He also spoke of having trust in President Yeltsin as the guarantor of security and Russia's adherence to international agreements as well as a stabilizer in the Russian Government, which will stay put for another two years. I have deep trust in Prime Minister Chernomyrdin—an exceptionally good pragmatist and strategist who will not allow any uncertainties on a vital issue such as this,



Pavlov said. And he added that the present government in Moscow would not allow anyone to play with the nuclear button even if the Liberal Democrats formed a majority in the State Duma.

Pavlov says there is little chance of a coalition government being formed in Moscow comprising Liberal Democrats and Communists. This may lead to a stalling of reforms, recriminations and squabbles, he said. But even then, said Pavlov, President Yeltsin and Prime Minister Chernomyrdin will be firmly in control of the country's nuclear arsenals.

#### Commentators on Reaction

PM1512151593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 1

[Report by Oleg Stepanenko: "They Should Be Kicking Themselves"]

[Text] Minsk—This is how many people in Belarus assess the Russian election results. The defeat of the "democrats" who have controlled the principal mass media in recent years testifies above all to the collapse of their policy. Their economic policy first and foremost. Noting the frightened exclamations of democratic reformers—"Russia In Shock," "Fascists Come to Power"—SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA observer Igor Grishan writes in an article entitled "Who Should Be Kicking Themselves?": "I beg to differ. It is not Russia that is in shock, it is the Russian leaders. And for good reason; they should remember better than anyone else that, as M. Aldanov wrote in the novel "Zagovor" ["Conspiracy"]: "The people will get by somehow without a declaration of rights, but they want to eat and drink every day."

Here, attention is focused on the fact that the scenario, which various sociological services had been drumming into the heads of Russians, spreading around a cornucopia of figures about the imminent great victory of the "Russia's Choice" bloc, has collapsed.

The "birth" of the new Constitution is also commented on, especially since the Republic Supreme Soviet is discussing the draft of a new fundamental law for Belarus, and great attention is being paid to this question here. Georgiy Stankevich, a well-known lawyer and doctor of sciences who was for a long time Belorussia's representative on the UN Commission for Human Rights, stated:

"There are few grounds for considering the new Russian Constitution lawful. First, a good half of all Russians are unfamiliar with it. Second, both its preparation and adoption were carried out in breach of the existing Constitution and in violation of all procedures laid down in that Constitution. Third, only one-third of registered voters voted for it."

I have cited just one commentary. The assessments of other readers who have been phoning the correspondents' center is far harsher.

#### Georgian Party Voices Concern Over Outcome

LD1512230293 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1400 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Statement issued by Georgian National-Democratic Party on 15 December]

[Text] The Georgian National-Democratic Party voices concern over the victory of fascist-communist forces in the elections in Russia and points out that:

1. Zhirinovskiy's victory points to reactionary, anti-democratic, and imperialist sentiments among a part of Russia's population and also to the aspiration on the part of important and influential forces to have Zhirinovskiy and company instead of Rutskoy and Khasbulatov.
2. The victory of the so-called Liberal-Democratic Party imperils not only Russia's weak democratic forces, but also neighboring countries and ultimately the entire world.
3. Penetration of so-called Liberal-Democrats into the highest echelons of power will result in facilitating the transformation of the CIS into a new empire, which could even strip the countries united in this so-called Commonwealth of their emblems, standards, and anthems.

The evidently weak prospects of Russian democracy have been placed under deadly threat and the Western states must boost their political support for the countries of the former Soviet bloc so that a certain belt of democratic countries could be created around Russia, which would contribute to a victory of democracy if such is ever possible in that neighboring country.

In addition, in Russia—and not only in Russia—emphasis should be made not on individuals and artificially created blocs, the ineffectiveness of which has been once again proved by the recent elections in Russia, but on strong, organized, and competitive political forces.

The Georgian National-Democratic Party also appeals to the governments and parliaments of the countries voluntarily or forcefully linked in the CIS to make a sober assessment of recent events and of Russia in general and to spare no efforts for the preservation and strengthening of independence of our countries, democracy, and peace.

#### Baltic Presidents Discuss Election Results

LD1612111693 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1800 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Excerpt] [Announcer] The presidents of the three Baltic countries met today in Tallinn. Uku Toom has brought the following back from Kadriorg [presidential residence].



[Toom] The presidents' first meeting was planned to last for an hour but took two and a half. All this time journalists were waiting patiently at Kadriorg for what the presidents would have to tell them.

To start with, they emphasized that they had not met because of the Russian parliamentary election results. The presidents' meeting had already been decided upon some time ago and [words indistinct].

With photographers' flashbulbs working overtime, the presidents signed three documents. The documents pertain to cooperation with the Nordic countries, cooperation with NATO, and economic, legislative, and national security cooperation between the Baltic states.

The Russian elections, however, became the focus of their press conference. The Baltic presidents stated that Estonia, Latvia, as well as Lithuania have voiced their support to Russian democracy but Russian democracy has traditions even briefer than ours and there could be setbacks. One of those are the (?recent) elections.

Lennart Meri [Estonian president] said the following when asked how the elections results in Russia might affect the Estonian-Russian talks.

[Begin recording] [Meri] I believe that for the Russian democratic circles, which would like to diminish the importance of Zhirinovskiy's unarguable electoral victory, a (?good) opportunity has now opened to demonstrate that they will be true to international law and will consequently make an effort to overcome the minor differences of opinion that currently exist between Estonia and Russia and bring the relationship between Estonia and Russia to a normal footing.

We have been watching Russia's development for a long time. We have not had any illusions. We have always used plenty of (?common sense) and we have always provided swift support to Russian democracy. The problem lies much more in Western Europe, for whom the current election outcome constitutes much more of a shock, just as at one time the beginning of Russian perestroika came as a shock for those 25,000 U.S. Kremlinologists who [words indistinct]. [end recording]

[Toom] The Western countries have enjoyed major illusions and for this reason they see what has happened as a fatal setback. President Meri emphasized, however, that one cannot of course support any organization with a Nazi background as is unfortunately the case with Mr. Zhirinovskiy's party. However, there is no point in drawing conclusions too early and starting a panic.

Yet, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania have pointed out some time ago already that there is a security vacuum in the Baltic region. They have worked very much together in the NATO cooperation council [North Atlantic Cooperation Council]. The recent elections in Russia will force the Baltic countries to demand much more forcefully that the U.S. Partnership for Peace initiative which so far—as Lennart Meri put it—has been beautiful and

fine like an empty perfume bottle would find a similar content. Both Lithuanian and Latvian presidents also considered (?closer) cooperation with NATO important. Latvian President [Guntis] Ulmanis also said that he hopes for a continuing Russian troop withdrawal from Latvia despite the election results. [passage omitted]

### NATO Seen as Security Guarantor

WS1612102193 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 2001 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] Tallinn, 15 Dec—The Baltic presidents see NATO as main prospective guarantor of their countries' security, the three Baltic presidents said in a joint statement issued on Wednesday [15 December].

"Whilst welcoming the prospect of being granted associate membership of the Western European Union as our relationship with the European Union strengthens, we regard NATO as currently being main prospective guarantor of our security," the statement issued ahead of the NATO heads of state and government meeting on January 10-11, 1994, read.

The presidents discussed possible new directions in Russia's policy after elections expressing the need to consolidate democratic gains of past years.

Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians give their full support to democratic forces in Russia, but, however, democratic tradition in Russia is even shorter than in the Baltic countries, Estonian president Lennart Meri told a joint news conference with his two Baltic colleagues.

"Kickbacks are possible in building democracy in Russia," Meri said while adding that the victory of ultra-nationalist forces represented by Vladimir Zhirinovsky at parliamentary elections had been no surprise. Europe and America had had too big illusions concerning democracy in Russia and therefore his victory was treated as "fatal kickback", Meri said.

"There is no reason for panicking," Latvia's president Guntis Ulmanis said while adding that one must wait for final election results and formation of the new parliament before passing conclusions. The kickback was of temporary nature, he added.

"We must see who actually takes the seats at Russia's two-chamber parliament," Lithuania's president Algirdas Brazauskas said.

The Baltic countries have always observed developments in Russia without illusions so characteristic to the Western countries, Meri said while adding the Baltics are full of hope and support for democrats in Russia.

The Baltic presidents met in Tallinn at a conference of the Baltic Institute of Strategic and International Studies. Topics discussed at their meeting included strengthening the security in Europe, further integration with Europe as well as among the three Baltic countries, and relations with Russia after parliamentary elections.

### **Estonian Defense Minister on Joining NATO**

*WS1512115993 Tallinn BNS in English 1601 GMT 14 Dec 93*

[Text] Tallinn, Dec 14, BNS—The "Partnership in the Name of Peace" initiative by the United States, which foresees signing of agreements between NATO and the countries of Eastern and Central Europe, is obtaining a new significance in the situation that has emerged after the parliamentary elections in Russia. For this reason, Estonia is going to proceed "even more energetically" toward the signing of such a treaty, Estonian Defense Minister Juri Luik said.

Luik was speaking to reporters today, after returning from talks with Swedish Defense Minister Anders Bjorck in the Swedish capital. The Estonian minister said he and his Swedish counterpart had come to the conclusion that the prospective cooperation agreements to be signed with NATO had to be very precise in their content and contain as few political declarations as possible.

"For Estonia this is particularly important. This must become a bilateral treaty, under which NATO takes upon itself definite duties with respect to the technical supplies, training and joint manœuvres," Luik said.

He said it was difficult to speak so far of Estonia's concrete obligations before NATO. The minister said Estonia above all had to ensure that its army were stable and fully obeyed the orders of a democratic state power.

"It seems to me that we are on our way towards that," he added.

### **Official on Anti-Yeltsin Parliament**

*WS1512115693 Tallinn BNS in English 1842 GMT 14 Dec 93*

[Text] Tallinn, 14 Dec BNS—Although Russian Parliament can be dominated by anti-Yeltsin forces—Liberal-Democratic Party, Communist Party, Agrarian Party and Women of Russia, it may not demand Chernomyrdin government to leave but let the situation in Russia come to chaos, and achieve a supreme victory in two years time, Vello Saatpalu, the head of Estonian Riigikogu [parliament] foreign committee, having arrived back from Moscow, told a press conference on Tuesday [14 December].

Saatpalu, who, as a member of Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly delegation, observed the elections in Russia, said that a minority government in Russia would cause the negotiations between Estonia and Russia to "drag on", for a government that depended upon "chauvinistic forces" in the parliament, could not make compromises that would be against the wishes of Russian nationalists.

Situation in Russia after the elections was complicated but not so serious as stated by some, Saatpalu said, because anti-Yeltsin opposition was dispersed and Zhirnovsky may be having difficulties in finding coalition

partners. When the parliament assembles, however, relations between different political groups may undergo changes, he added.

### **Commission Head on Need for More Weapons**

*WS1612105493 Tallinn BNS in English 1609 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Text] Tallinn, Dec 15, BNS—The chairman of the Estonian parliament's State Defense Commission, Rein Helme, addressed an inquiry to the prime minister today, asking why the country's defense forces still had too few weapons. Helme in the appeal was referring to growing tensions in Russia.

The head of the parliamentary commission in an interview with BNS said that recent developments in Russia should act as eye-openers also for those people, who have found lately that Estonia doesn't need a defense force or weapons.

"It is clear that disintegration in Russia will continue; President Yeltsin won't give up so easily, but Zhirnovsky wants to grasp all power. This may lead to such a reversal from a democratic path of development, which kind we haven't witnessed in our lifetime. All the more so must our little country be protected. If we won't defend ourselves, there will be nobody else defending us," Helme said.

He expressed hope that the weapons bought from Israel, as well as aid from other countries will reach Estonia before developments in Russia take a dangerous turn. He said that also the attitude of the Nordic countries toward the Baltics had changed.

Helme pointed out the anti-aircraft section as weakest in the country's defense structure, and said that situation in this respect had to change in the near future.

### **Latvian Foreign Affairs Ministry Issues Statement**

*LD1512134193 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1200 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Text] The Latvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement today in connection with the parliamentary election in Russia on 12 December.

Confidence is expressed in the statement that the new Russian parliament will have enough goodwill and political foresight for appropriate understanding of the processes going on in the world and an assessment of Russia's role in them.

The document says that the composition of deputies will obviously reflect the real economic situation and the voters' understanding of what Russia should look like. In addition, the fact that the majority of voters approved the new Constitution of the Russian Federation gives grounds for hope that the struggle between the followers of different political views will go on in the future on the basis of law in Russia. That may stabilize internal

political situation in Russia and serve as a basis for further improvement of the political system.

#### Minister Views Zhirinovskiy Threat

*LD1512185793 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian  
1800 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Text] The victory of the Liberal Democratic Party led by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy in the Russian parliamentary elections heightens the threat to Latvia's sovereignty, Foreign Minister Georgs Andrejevs said in a telephone interview with the Baltic News Service today. In Andrejevs' view, the real threat lies in the possibility that the Liberal Democrats might get into the government in Russia. He believes that if they work as legislators they will not really be able to threaten Latvia's independence.

Speaking about possible economic sanctions from Russia, Andrejevs expressed the view that Zhirinovskiy's statements in the press about the economic destruction of the Baltic countries within two weeks have a certain basis but are exaggerated. Andrejevs added that Latvia has at its disposal alternative economic opportunities that will be able to ensure the country's survival.

#### Spokesman Comments

*LD1512192593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1347  
GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina]

[Text] Riga, 15 December, TASS—The fact that Russians supported the new constitution gives hope that the struggle between advocates of different political stands would not go beyond the law, and therefore stabilize the situation in Russia and lay the foundation for further improvement of the political system, a spokesperson for Latvia's Foreign Ministry said on Wednesday [15 December].

A statement, issued by the ministry, says the new Russian parliament will have enough good will and political wisdom to understand adequately world processes and the role of Russia in them. The document adds that Latvia is ready to continue the dialogue between the two countries with a goal to create relations which meet the interests of Latvia and Russia and their peoples.

#### Media Analysis, Commentary

##### Kondrashov Ponders Implications of Elections

*PM1612114193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16  
Dec 93 First Edition p 4*

[Stanislav Kondrashov article: "Three Obvious Points About Zhirinovskiy's Success"]

[Text] The success of Zhirinovskiy and his party in Russia's first free elections came like a bolt from the blue. That is the impression you gain from the reaction in the democratic press, which is sometimes hysterically

emotional. However, in fact it is a surprise that might have been expected. Two or three of the main explanations of this success are almost arithmetically obvious.

First, 12 December decoded and deciphered one of the signals of 25 April. Remember that in the April referendum 44.6 percent of those who voted (over 30 million people) did not approve the social policy of the president and the government. Mass discontent was biding its time so that it could transform its general "no" into a personified "yes" to specific opposition figures, and that time came with the elections. Zhirinovskiy and his LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] gathered most of the previously ownerless protest votes. If we add to his percentage those of Zyuganov and also the Agrarian Party and Travkin's party, which had earlier proclaimed their disagreement with the current course of reform, we get the overall level of discontent with the democrats' policy recorded in April—plus an entirely understandable additional percentage.

So the votes were there for the taking—it was important to "garner" them. The LDPR leader brilliantly carried out this operation and made better use than the others of the exceptionally extensive access to television airtime on the eve of the elections. However, the authorities' "blunder" is not only that, wishing to meet world standards of democracy, they slackened control over state television during the key few days, allowing opponents access to the most powerful means of "brainwashing." The authorities also helped Zhirinovskiy by debarring a number of radical national-patriotic organizations from taking part in the elections after the events of 3-4 October. Thus the LDPR lost rivals within its own camp, the votes of the discontented were channeled in its direction, and it could surge impressively ahead of the "Russia's Choice" bloc, which was weakened by the reverse factor—the fragmentation of democratic ranks.

The second obvious point that explains what has happened is this: Gaydar is not Yeltsin. To use the fashionable term, he lacks the charisma to influence the masses, as proved by the first trial by universal suffrage in his meteoric career. And how can he become invincibly attractive when his name is associated in one way or another with "shock therapy" in the minds of millions of people?!

Even together with his "Russia's Choice" associates (and to some extent precisely thanks to them), Gaydar is not Yeltsin. The mandate of approval which the president received in the April referendum and which has now been transferred to the constitution in almost the same percentage (around 60 percent) has not extended to him. I am not going to express a view on whether Yeltsin and his entourage envisaged the possibility of the actual result of the elections, but right from the start the president made his own position safe and took precautions by placing the main emphasis on the adoption of the constitution and—adopting the pose of someone above the fray—distancing himself even from "Russia's Choice." The upshot is a combination "package deal":



the "presidential" constitution plus a parliament which is scarcely to the president's liking, but from which he now has the means to defend himself.

However, in one respect Zhirinovskiy is closer to Yeltsin than Gaydar—the practice of populism. The "early" Yeltsin expanded his political base by urging the republics and regions to take as much sovereignty "as you can swallow." Zhirinovskiy's populism to some extent stems from Yeltsin's abundant populism and is directed now toward people who find that "sovereignty" sticks in their throat—there is the theme of the fate of Russians in the former Soviet republics and the theme of the revival of the Russian empire. In place of the old lost illusions he is offering new—nationalist—illusions. Voters, mainly provincial Russians, are swallowing them.

On Russia's difficult, painful, and long road to democracy 12 December marked another historical first. A whole series of firsts: the debut of the brand new elite parties with famous leaders and unintelligible programs, the debut of the electoral system with the innovation of federal party lists, the debut of a new concept of parliament that has yet to be tried out. And, of course, the debut of the perplexed voter: He is accustomed to voting "unanimously" for the "bloc of communists and non-party people," but now he is faced with all of 13...pigs in a poke.

In view of this debut by the voter, I think it is worth identifying one more obvious point that requires further combined efforts in order to decode and fully explain it. I will be very brief: Zhirinovskiy addressed the voter who was making his debut with his clearly demagogic, rhetorical, simplistic, unrealizable, and so forth—but broad and alluring—vision of Russia. In general, it is easier for a demagogue to have a broad vision, but, be that as it may, in itself it is badly needed by our people, who have been plunged into a new world and unfortunately are by no means immediately finding their niche in it. More unwittingly than wittingly, they are prepared to follow someone who, albeit pursuing his own political advantage, applies Pushkin's approach: "We care more for a single elevating deception than for a host of low truths." Man does not live by bread alone—let alone by macro-economic arguments about the transition to a market economy.

Judging by the election results, Zhirinovskiy was more successful than the rest in finding a common language with the ordinary voter. His deception was deemed sufficiently "elevating" and outweighed the charges of fascism against the LDPR leader. This phenomenon merits careful study, not simply meaningless curses.

Has Zhirinovskiy "cornered" the votes he now has for the next two years? Time—and the work of his faction in the Federal Assembly—will tell. Democracy—and is that not what we are talking about?—primarily implies heeding the opinion of those who voted for him, because you cannot change their minds without understanding them.

#### LDPR Seen as Incapable of Taking Full Control

МК1512104593 Moscow *SEGODNYA* in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 1

[Sergey Parkhomenko article under the "Crux of the Matter" rubric: "Russia Elects Its Duma With No Majority, Ability, and Rights"]

[Text] None of the official sources have so far reported more or less complete data on the voting in Moscow and St. Petersburg, in their oblasts, and several other major industrial regions. The April referendum experience makes one suppose that the results there may somewhat alter the general correlation of forces partially outlined by the party lists voting results released late yesterday by the Central Electoral Commission and the Russian president's Current Information Center.

But at best Russia's Choice may come a little closer to the leading Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] in the number of votes scored, and at very best, equal that number. All this cannot prevent one from summing up already at this stage the meaning and political significance of the popular voting on 12 December.

The bloc of extreme conservative and national-extremist forces has undoubtedly scored a colossal moral victory. In the course of the electoral campaign, especially in that stage of it where the competitors gained access to the most powerful tools of campaigning—the electronic media—representatives of this wing (more precisely, the only representative) demonstrated a much greater professionalism than their adversaries did. Thus, the funds funneled into their electoral campaign proved to have been used to much greater effect than the funds of the pro-reform parties and movements, which in fact betrayed their donors.

Furthermore: The LDPR will have in the fifth State Duma a numerically considerable faction of deputies. Importantly, the percentage of seats it has at its disposal in regard to all the 450 Duma seats should prove to be considerably less than in regard to the "proportional" half of Duma seats. This is explained by the fact that the LDPR was unable to nominate as many candidates for the elections in one-candidate constituencies, and most of them do not stand much of a chance. The "bench" proved to be short.

At any rate, the appearance of the reactionaries' majority in the Duma is seen as almost improbable: Even if representatives of the LDPR, Communists, and Agrarians get together (something that cannot be imagined if you recall that these movements are internally splintered), they would hardly scrape up 50 percent. It would also take, for example, the "women's" faction, or several dozen defectors from the centrist and moderately democratic factions (Democratic Party of Russia, and Party of Russian Unity and Accord). Thus, no dice.

The whole thing would most likely end up in a "bloc-forming minority" aimed at making it possible to upset



the voting on questions requiring a qualified support—those on constitutional laws, constitutional amendments, and so forth.

Correspondingly, all participation of extremists in a future government is out of the question. Nor will it be easy for them to achieve serious influence on the shaping of the state budget or to control the designation of elected parliament positions of the Duma's speaker, heads of committees, and so forth.

What remains? What remains is shame.

It is very easy to suppose what the elections' outcome would be, had, for example, the Communists came in ahead of the multiparty caravan. Well, we would have said, this is natural, after all. Look at Poland and Eastern Europe in general.... We would have said that, in a period of shock-therapy economic reforms, you cannot expect the voters' endless tolerance of and trust in the ruling regime.... We would have said that the living standards in a considerable part of the population have plunged.... We would have said that there are moral traumas caused by the empire's disintegration....

A victory for the Communists would have dealt the Yeltsin administration a heavy blow. But then, scars received in the battle for democracy adorn a politician. To be wounded in a battle for your fatherland is even noble.

But what we have is a boil scratched open. It smells. It exudes some puss. It is not as dangerous as it is repulsive. Passers-by look askance. One feels ashamed to appear in public.

Here is what happened: A shameful disease has stricken Russian politics. At any rate, syphilis, according to Hasek, is like war. It can be just and unjust.

#### **Parliamentary Lineup, Yeltsin Dilemma Assessed**

PM1512161393 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA  
PRAVDA in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 1

[Feature comprising articles by Stas Stremidlovskiy, Andrey Podkopalov, and Vasiliy Ustyuzhanin under general headline: "The White House Seems To Have Been Bombarded With Boomerangs"]

[Text] [Stremidlovskiy report] **Well, Well, Familiar Faces All!**

The first sessions of the new Russian parliament have not yet opened, but already footsteps are echoing through the corridors of the building where they will be held. Look carefully, and you will see that something is making the democratically minded denizens' flesh creep.

From Tula and Smolensk comes the footfall of Vasiliy Starodubtsev and Anatoliy Lukyanov, the defendants at the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] trial, and the well-known "Red" attorney Yuriy Ivanov. Then there are the former Russian people's deputies

from the "intransigent opposition" Sergey Baburin, Valentin Agafonov, Ivan Rybkin, Vladimir Isakov, and Aman Tuleyev.

The writer Yuriy Vlasov bested his rivals at the elections in Moscow. St. Petersburg will provide us with the delightful Aleksandr Nevzorov, who will now have much longer than 600 seconds to say his piece.

Vasiliy Lipitskiy, who triumphed in Novosibirsk, has not betrayed his party boss Aleksandr Rutskoy. North Ossetia is sending Aleksandr Dzhasokhov, former secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to Moscow; Belgorod is sending Aleksey Ponomarev, former secretary of the CPSU oblast committee; and Karelia is sending former first secretary Viktor Stepanov. Former PRAVDA Chief Editor Gennadiy Seleznev, current SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Editor Valentin Chikin, the lawyer Viktor Ilyukhin who prosecuted Gorbachev, and the cosmonaut Vitaliy Sevastyanov are all on the Russian Federation Communist Party's federal parliamentary list.

Boris Yeltsin recently removed Yuriy Lodkin from his post as head of Bryansk City Administration for contravening Edict No. 1400, but now he has gotten himself elected deputy. Orel Administration head Yegor Stroyev, who enjoys active communist support, has also entered parliament. [Stremidlovskiy ends]

#### **[Podkopalov report] What Will the President Do With Such a Parliament?**

Even in his worst nightmares the president could not have imagined this sort of parliamentary lineup.

The argument that the old parliament was bad because it was elected under the CPSU no longer stands up: Under a totally democratic system it has gathered together the "cream" of the previous (Union and Russian) bodies of deputies ranging from SCSE members Starodubtsev and Lukyanov to that tribune of the people Baburin, while recruiting Zhirinovskiy's combat militia right off the street.

Yes, all these people are deputies.... And what will the president do with them?

All the indications are that Boris Nikolayevich himself has not yet decided—it is no accident that, in his special statement regarding the constitution, he passed over the results of the parliamentary elections. Even reports by people from the president's team are fairly contradictory, ranging from Chubays' sharp statement that he refuses to work alongside the "fascist" Zhirinovskiy to the vague opinions voiced by V. Kostikov and M. Poltoranin about the theoretical possibility of dialogue with the uber-liberal democrat.

The problem really is a tricky one. Under the constitutional procedure established by the president himself it is only possible to dissolve parliament after one year at the earliest—and a lot may happen in a year....

What about ignoring the legislative organ with all its potential idiosyncracies and working with the government alone? This is an entirely realistic option—at the same time it would be preferable from the outset to reduce to a minimum parliament's contacts with the press and television (and on no account to permit the resumption of "parliamentary hours" on television and the publication of a parliamentary newspaper).

And finally, there is one other option—swallow their pride (not just the president, but also the members of the government) and try to establish contacts with the deputies, however disagreeable this may be in some cases.

In the final analysis this is the right thing to do—both the government and the president have to a considerable extent contributed to the shape of the new parliament. [Podkopalov ends]

[Ustyuzhanin report] **Ten Reasons Why "Russia's Choice" Failed**

1. The press. In Yelena Bonner's opinion, journalists who were too sharply critical of the reforms were principally to blame for Zhirinovskiy's victory.

2. Rotten weather. In the opinion of Central Electoral Commission Chairman Nikolay Ryabov, inclement weather conditions in some Russian regions influenced the outcome of the vote.

3. Soccer. In the opinion of political analyst Aleksey Kiva, transmission on polling day of the "supercup" game between Milan and Sao Paolo sidetracked a number of men from the elections.

4. Residence permits. In the opinion of our Sayanogorsk reader Vladimir Kalitsev, "Russia's Choice" was deprived of thousands of potential votes by an election law which permitted voting strictly on a residence permit basis. But it is well known that the most mobile voters—traders and entrepreneurs—support "Russia's Choice."

5. Yeltsin. Gennadiy Burbulis believes the president was wrong to distance himself from the parties and blocs and to fail to identify himself unequivocally with "Russia's Choice."

6. Sociologists. They made citizens relax by constantly noting the low level of support for the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] in the regions and the high level of support for "Russia's Choice."

7. The stars. According to predictions by Pavel Globa, fate favored Zhirinovskiy. It is well known that Globa has predicted that 1993 will be Zhirinovskiy's year. The well-known futurologist is often wrong, but he exerted an active influence on the minds of voters and hence on the election.

8. The West. In the opinion of Vitaliy Tretyakov, chief editor of NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, the West gave the president idiotic advice.

9. The democrats themselves. Yegor Gaydar believes the democratic leaders themselves are to blame since they were unable to reach agreement on the key points of the election struggle.

10. Lack of an opponent. In the opinion of Otto Latsis [IZVESTIYA commentator and Editorial Collegium member, former member of Presidential Consultative Council], by getting rid of the old parliament the democrats undertook to foot the bill for all the government's mistakes. This bill was presented by the electorate 12 December.

Finally, here is the opinion of our reader Viktor Laktyushkin, chief engineer at a defense enterprise in Khimki.

"A week before the election I didn't know whom to vote for: 'Russia's Choice' or Zhirinovskiy's party. But since everyone in the press was reporting that, according to preliminary forecasts, 'Russia's Choice' was in the lead, I decided to cast my vote for Zhirinovskiy. Out of sympathy. Because I thought that people like him should be in parliament. He is right to criticize the democrats for their social policy and for the fact that they cannot protect Russians abroad. He would be a useful man to have in parliament to keep the deputies on their toes and ensure they don't get flabby.

"Yesterday I heard news that Poland was frightened by the results of the Russian vote and was hurrying to embrace NATO. It is precisely because the former socialist countries have turned away from Russia and set their sights on NATO that many people voted for Zhirinovskiy.

"I also think it was a mistake to discontinue publication of sociological polls of the population a week before the election. If I had known that Zhirinovskiy was so far ahead, I would not have voted for him.

"Moreover, I am convinced that the LDPR took votes away from 'Russia's Choice' alone, not from anyone else. If you add the 15-percent share of the vote won by 'Russia's Choice' to the 25 percent won by Zhirinovskiy, you get precisely the 40-percent share of support which sociologists told us belonged to 'Russia's Choice.'" [Ustyuzhanin ends]

**PRAVDA Decries Use of 'Fascist' Label**

PM1512162193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 2

[Sergey Kara-Murza article: "You Should Not Mock in This Way, Gentlemen!"]

[Text] The odious elections, founded on blood, are over. The opposition, by making a very slippery compromise and obtaining seats in the Duma, has assumed a tremendous responsibility. It is walking on a knife edge. If it ventures to become bloated with parliamentarianism and tries to "fit in" comfortably with the regime, people will turn away from it in disgust.

The "reformers" are rejoicing with gloomy faces. Some 27 percent of citizens came out in favor of the "democratic constitution." You cannot deny that the "democrats" are modest. It was not 70 percent or even 40 percent in favor. It was just 27 percent! We do not need any more, they say. Under these conditions a boycott would easily have succeeded—Travkin's party, for instance, would only have had to urge people not to participate in the elections. Then the democratic conjurers would have had to shake their sleeves to make up for the missing ballot papers.

But those who are offended by this constitution should not be particularly upset. Really the people did not adopt it, whatever edicts are used to claim this. Of course, it is a bad thing that it now hinders us, like a thorn in the flesh, in working out and adopting with sufficient harmony a constitution which would really acquire the mystic force of fundamental law in the eyes of the majority and would protect us from madnesses on any side. But this one? Hardly anyone doubts that it will be no kind of a restraining force on a president-dictator: If he wants to, he will dissolve any Duma tomorrow. Since this is so, this Constitution will be no obstacle even to his opponents, when it comes right down to it, because the disposition of forces will decide everything. The radicals have more than enough excuses. This means that the question of continuing the murderous "Gaydar policy" or switching to a more sensible path will not be decided on the "constitutional field." You see, the fact that the "democrats" tried so hard to enshrine dictatorial powers in the law will play a nasty trick on them. This frequently happens to people who like to lay a trap for someone else.

For me the result of the elections to the Duma is more important—as a reflection of the choice made after the salvos of 4 October. Nobody is in any doubt: The majority has made a very tough statement. The chief purport is the collapse of the democratic myth and the rejection of the Westernist utopia. Half "voted with their feet." There are no supporters of Gaydar among those who did not vote. The party of the "reforming" radicals received the support of 6.5 percent of the population. An unprecedented turnaround from the one-third who supported them in April. The ones left are those who are bound by mutual responsibility for the plundering of the country and irretrievably crazed members of the intelligentsia. Even such potential allies as Shakhrai and Yavlinskiy deemed it prudent to distance themselves as much as possible, so as not to be dragged down. The closest associate—the Movement for Democratic Reforms—did not reach the [5 percent] threshold at all and were left by the wayside.

The stunning success of Zhirinovskiy's party has plunged the "democrats" into despondency. But they also laid this trap themselves. They adroitly removed the moderate patriots—the Russian National Union and the Christian Democrats—and cunningly decided to have a "sham" party in the Duma as a whipping boy. They overreached themselves. They repeated the fatal mistake

of Gorbachev, who also liked to construct bugaboos—now on the right, now on the left.

But I am not speaking of Zhirinovskiy himself, for we still actually know little about him. What is important is the chords which he touched in voters' hearts and the appeals and the "codes" to which they responded so concertedly. This is the most important thing! They responded to codes and appeals which totally reject "Gaydar's plan." The reformers failed to break the genotype of Russian civilization and rejoiced too soon. They have now realized all this. It is funny: They intimidated people with Zyuganov's Communists. But the position expressed in votes for Zhirinovskiy is incomparably tougher. In terms of its election platform the Communist Party of the Russian Federation is made up of mild social democrats, almost laborites (incidentally, I believe that they lost quite a few votes to Zhirinovskiy and Travkin because of this). They advanced no archaic state slogans. Live with the Communists and rejoice, you might think! Particularly as people have uncomplainingly suffered privations. No, they awakened the animal in them and aroused muffled secret anger at insufferable insults to state feelings and to deep-seated notions of justice. When Zhirinovskiy appealed precisely to these feelings, he received a powerful response. A response such that very coexistence with reform according to the IMF scheme becomes impossible. Naturally, the fist shown by the people will encourage the whole opposition and even make it define its position more clearly. The gentlemen should not have sown the wind—despite the warnings.

The quite absurd shouting about the "fascist threat" shows how incapable they are of heeding the voice of reason. This is something unprecedented. In front of the entire honest people officials describe as fascists a party which was officially registered, which legally participated in the elections, and which collected more votes than anyone. Without any investigation and even without logical arguments, or even invented ones, they give it the status of a **criminal** party (which only a court can do). They do this in a country where the concept "fascist" is not just extremely insulting but places a person outside society and outside the law. Tomorrow, if they had the power, they could shoot them without trial, for fascists must be shot like mad dogs. This is the rule-of-law state for you!

And yet it is not even a matter of Zhirinovskiy. Voters have been described as fascists. Moreover, entire regions can now be called **fascist**. The mass of soldiers and officers and militia and Security Ministry workers have ended up as fascists. Will Yeltsin "struggle against fascism"? Expose them and expel them from service and carry out "de-Nazification"? Set up a "Rotfront"? There are no longer allies against fascism. They have cursed the communists, and the poor democrats themselves must at last go and fight. A theater of the absurd. There is one joy—it has at last proved possible to call the whole of Russia fascist. The theme of the "evil empire" has started to be heard with new force. Look, the heroes will



summon a nuclear strike against themselves, giving their life to save the world from the "fascist plague."

I repeat, for television has already talked a lot of nonsense about this: There are no grounds (in essence, not to mention legal grounds) for speaking of Zhirinovskiy's fascism. The label "fascists," which has a strong impact on people's minds, is being used deliberately to stir up society. Total ignorance reigns among us on the question of fascism, and this complex concept is most frequently used as a political swearword.

In fact, there is not at present a cultural base in Russia for fascism—a spiritual disease precisely of Western society. It is a perverted bout of group instinct in a society of individuals. It is an unhealthy rejection of rationalism and mechanicism, a quest for a "philosophy of the whole," a specific "schizophrenia of the European mind," which feels angst because of the breaking of the link with man and the soil. The traditional world outlook of Russia's peoples simply leaves no room for fascism. Our world outlook is not mechanistic but integral, and we have "digested" Western rationalism. Our society is not yet individualistic, and it has retained the instinct for solidarity—we cannot have any "bouts" of group instinct. In still less "Western" societies there is not even European angst (the U.S. Army's chief psychiatrist in Vietnam was staggered that the Vietnamese do not suffer from schizophrenia). We might have totalitarianism, a mafia, and various kinds of nationalism—but what has this to do with fascism? It is even strange. Fascism is the "alter ego" of Western democracy, but we do not have that democracy.

Groups of insignificant size and influence which use the attributes and symbols of paramilitary nationalist organizations have most likely been created artificially, precisely in order to be used as a bugaboo. Even in respect of their platforms there are no grounds for describing them as fascists—even if this is what they have called themselves. Was Yerin really a communist, although he called himself one and carried a party card in his pocket? There is a handful of "fascistic" intellectuals, for whom this is a philosophical sport. But they have nothing to do either with Zhirinovskiy or with the mass of voters.

Preconditions for the emergence of fascism in Russia as a specific ideological, cultural, and political trend arose precisely as a consequence of the destructive socioeconomic reform. These preconditions consist in the rapid declassing and eroding of the cultural foundations of those groups of the population which have broken with Russia's traditional culture and world outlook—the Westernist intelligentsia and the new petty bourgeoisie, which is in the grip of pessimism on the threshold of inevitable ruin by big capital. Mass unemployment, which gives rise to right-wing extremism and nationalism and to acute spiritual crisis, will be another important factor.

The structures which might support this incipient fascism have already been created. They are the paramilitary organizations to "guard" capital and even a section of the regime's power structures which have "tasted blood." Conversations with members of the special-purpose militia detachment before 4 October showed that a substantial proportion of them had formed their own ideology as a complete rejection of law and as hatred of a large part of the people as a "lower race." The theory of "new Russians" as an elite part of the nation called upon to live in a new civilization is also quickly being formulated. All this is an immeasurably more important sign of fascism than a "solstice" ["solntsevorot"] badge on the sleeve. But Chubays will not only give these "protofascists" his hand—he will embrace them and smother them with kisses.

Finally, I must mention what concluded "election day"—the show organized by the "democrats" in the Kremlin. In for a penny, in for a pound—so in the parties' and blocs' representatives went. I never thought that I personally would see such vulgarity in my lifetime—on television, too. A political bordello. Russia's elite has not experienced such degradation of taste and tact. Quotations from Zhvanetskiy as the height of wisdom. Unceasing boorishness concluding every appeal for "reconciliation." A sad sight of decline and aesthetic collapse. It hurt to see Yuriy Karyakin with mad eyes full of horror, shouting that "Russia is off its rocker"—it has voted for fascists. How were they not ashamed to drag him—a sick, suffering man—onto the stage for the sake of a trifling political advantage? Will there be an end to this? For you are on the territory of Russia, gentlemen. You should not mock in this way the accepted norms of decency in our country.

Here is another unique situation: Under Poltoranin's command the organizers spent all night manipulating some figures, which were increasingly strange. Everything was as in Europe—computers, a luminous map of Russia, the sociologist Yuriy Levada, cipher communications from the districts. Then something went wrong. Data have come in, they said, but we cannot interpret them. Then came complete gloom: Someone has introduced a virus into the democratic computers, so go home, gentlemen. The next day we hear that the Central Electoral Commission was not producing any data and did not have the right to do so. What is going on in Russia? For officials were there: Filatov and Kostikov, Shumeyko and Chubays, Poltoranin and Bragin. Can they thrust their hand wherever they like? Where did the cipher communications come from—do they have secret party structures? Who will investigate this? Why do they give no explanation? Where is the president?

The election machinery had only to malfunction for dark, undercover sides of the regime to emerge, making you want to shout to the intelligentsia: Is this really not enough for you? What else has to be done before you come to your senses and return to your people?

**Sociologist Explains Voters' Motivations**

*MK1512115693 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 15  
Dec 93 p 2*

[Natalya Gorodetskaya report under the "Statistics" rubric: "Demand for Freedom of Speech Is Very Small in Russia. This Much Was Reported by Social Scientists After the Elections"]

[Text] As has now been revealed, Russian social scientists knew long before the elections that voters in the regions were more inclined than those in the center to back the democrats' political opponents. Nugzar Betaneli, head of the Independent Institute of the Sociology of Parliamentarianism, told an INTERFAX correspondent that, according to his lights, 37 percent of the population in Russia admit to "having caved in to the freeing of prices." It is they who, according to public polls, were expected to back communists and nationalists. In his opinion, there are also such people in all the main socio-democratic [as published] groups, but mostly among the workers, engineers and technicians, and servicemen. Their number is considerably greater among men than among women and among the residents of villages and urban-type settlements than among big-town residents.

The protracted economic crisis and growing crime, according to Mr. Betaneli, have resulted in the prevalence in the Russian population's structure of values of an orientation toward a "high living standard" (73 percent), and "public law and order" (67 percent). Never before in recent years has the demand for democracy and freedom of speech been expressed in Russian society so weakly. "Participation in making important political decisions" has meaning for as little as 4 percent of Russian voters, and "glasnost and freedom of speech" for 12 percent, the social scientist stressed.

**Amount of Air Time for Zhirinovskiy Noted**

*LD1512170593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1610  
GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Manvelov]

[Text] Moscow, 15 December, TASS—During the election campaign leader of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) Vladimir Zhirinovskiy was given more air time than all other candidates at Ostankino TV channel, on Russian Television and St. Petersburg television. Experts of the Russian-U.S. Information Press Centre told a news conference on Wednesday.

According to their survey, Zhirinovskiy was given almost five hours of air time, eight minutes more than his chief rival, leader of Russia's Choice bloc Yegor Gaydar. At the same time a large part of air time (45 per cent or 43 hours) was given to pro-government parties or blocs.

Paid advertising (some 20 hours) was run mostly on channel of Russian Television and Ostankino. Unlike St. Petersburg channel, their broadcasts are beamed to the whole of Russia. Russia's Choice bloc led for the amount of bought time (about five hours), followed by the Party of Russian Unity and Accord (four hours, five minutes) and the Liberal Democratic Party (two hours 44 minutes). Paid advertising was not used by the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc, the Agrarian Party of Russia, the Communist Party of the Russian Federation and the Dignity and Charity Movement.

The monitoring of the coverage of the election by Radio Moscow state-owned radio station and by the independent Radio Echo of Moscow showed in general the favourable attitude to pro-government organisations. Journalists of Echo of Moscow were at times too scathing in their criticism and were ridiculing candidates, it was said at the news conference.

**'Political Assassination' of Black Sea Fleet Spokesman**

*LD1612105393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1030 GMT 16 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Shvetsov]

[Text] Moscow, December 16 (TASS)—Representative of the Ukrainian President in Sevastopol Ivan Yermakov qualified the murder of the Black Sea Fleet spokesman Andrey Labeznikov as a political assassination.

"I cannot state that political assassinations have begun in the Crimea, but there are all grounds to believe they have...", he was quoted as saying by the press service of the fleet on Thursday.

Yermakov added that Labeznikov joined his team which is getting ready for presidential elections in the Crimea. "Our major priority is the fight against crime, mafia, corruption", he explained.

In the meantime, the command of the fleet warned local police that if they fail to find the killer the fleet "reserves the right to resort to a complex of concrete measures aimed to stabilise the situation in Sevastopol" which is its major base. The command did not elaborate, but it had been reported that the fleet plans to organise its own mobile anti-crime groups.

Three senior navy officers were murdered in Sevastopol over the last two months.

**Russian Navy Demands Investigation**

*LD1512152893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1415 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Excerpt] Moscow, 15 Dec—The Supreme Command of the Russian Navy has demanded from Ukrainian state security and internal affairs bodies to ensure order in Sevastopol, find the killers of first rank capitan Andrey Lazebnikov, head of the Black Sea Fleet press center, and establish the motives for this vicious crime, the ITAR-TASS correspondent was told at the Russian Navy press center. [passage omitted]

**Conference on Baltic Security Opens in Riga**

*WS1512120293 Tallinn BNS in English 1601 GMT 14 Dec 93*

[Text] Riga, 14 Dec, BNS—The Latvian Academy of Sciences' Strategic Research Center opened a two-day conference Tuesday [14 December] for the Baltic and NATO representatives to discuss the regional Baltic security.

The NATO representatives are scheduled to lecture on the world's security organizations, the future of the European security system, the problems of the NATO expansion and the activities by peacekeeping forces.

Klaus Karsten Pedersen, the director of the Danish Foreign Political Society, will speak about the Western stance on the Baltic security guarantees.

The conference's agenda also includes the Skrunda radar problem and strategical studies in Russia, as well as the work of the Latvian Foreign Political Institute and the National Defense Academy, the Vilnius Center for Baltic Studies and the Tallinn Institute for Baltic and International Strategic Studies.

The Baltic Strategic Research Center was founded Nov. 4 as a non-governmental, non-profit organization to study and popularize the Baltics security policies. The center is headed by former Latvian Defense Minister Talavs Jundzis.

The center's investigation program will be coordinated with similar programs in Lithuania and Estonia. The Vilnius center was opened in September. The corresponding Estonian institution will open Dec. 16-17 in Tallinn.

**Belarus Asked To Tighten Baltic Border Controls**

*PM1512164793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 1*

[Report by Valeriy Kovalev under "Yesterday" rubric: "Customs Between Russia and Belarus Abolished. But They Are Being Strengthened on Baltic Borders"]

[Text] Minsk, 14 Dec—By a decision of Russian Federation Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin the customs regime on Russia's border with the Republic of Belarus is to be abolished 15 December. But the Russian leadership has stipulated one condition: The Belarusian side must strengthen border and customs control on the Republic's borders with Poland and the Baltic countries.

Lieutenant General Yevgeniy Bocharov, chief of Republic of Belarus Border Troops, told KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's correspondent that "there is no need to strengthen the border with Poland—everything is fine there." It is a more complex matter to tightly seal the border with Lithuania and Latvia, where, according to him, "there are still a considerable number of problems."

**Russia Lifts Customs System**

*LD1512191593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1300 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Text] The customs system on Russia's border with Belarus is being lifted from today. This decision was taken by the Russian Government on condition that the Belarusian side strengthen border and customs control on the borders with Poland and the Baltic countries.



**ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 16 Dec**  
LD1612070793 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 0540  
GMT 16 Dec 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 16 December, (ITAR-TASS)—The Moscow press continues to concentrate on the preliminary results of the elections to the new Russian parliament and the referendum on the draft new constitution.

The ROSSIYSKIE VESTI carries an article by head of the Federal Information Centre Mikhail Poltoranin who writes: "My position is as follows: the only thing we can permit ourselves now is to work to split that faction (eds: the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR]) and 'to convert' some of its members.

"The authorities should snatch the initiative from the LDPR and deprive it of its social basis. This is possible if we seriously start combating crime and if we stop the spread of self-conceited bureaucracy.

"Zhirinovskiy was sky-rocketed to stardom by those who are tired of authorities' impotence. Nobody will prevent the president and the government from conducting a tougher policy against the political and criminal mafia, since the new constitution consolidated his position and that of the government."

"I do not see reasons for euphoria concerning the adoption of the new Russian constitution," says President of the Bashkortostan Republic Murtaza Rakhimov. "According to preliminary data," he writes in an interview with the NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA newspaper, "its draft was not approved in nine member Republics.

"A total of 53 per cent of the electorate in Bashkortostan said 'no' to the new constitution. The constitution looks like a prematurely born baby. In my opinion, the main aim of the federal assembly (eds: Russian parliament) is to bring 'the baby' to an adequate condition.

"We should be guided by realities of life and not by good wishes. A compromise should be found in order to preserve Russia's integrity. It is impossible to dismiss today, as well as in the past, opinions of member Republics and other regions."

Asked about reasons for the success of Zhirinovskiy's party, Rakhimov said: "Young people and the military voted for the LDPR. Zhirinovskiy speechifies well and promises. Society is evidently in such a state that it cannot correctly appraise one politician or another.

"I'm afraid that if he grabs power and translates his platform into life, misfortune will befall Russia."

The KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA newspaper runs opinions expressed by some politicians. "The president," says politologist Sergey Kurginyan, "can try and quash opposition, relying on Zhirinovskiy. To disband parliament and shoulder all powers. But, as a result, he will decrease his social basis."

In the opinion of author Aleksandr Prokhanov, "the level of confrontation will be even more acute by the end of winter than by September-October 1993. This confrontation will take place against the background of a more tragic situation."

Publicist Vasilii Selyunin says: "I do not see special difficulties for the president in his relations with the new parliament. Fascists will not have majority in the state дума (eds: lower chamber of the Russian parliament) all the same. The president should stick to his guns."

For its part, PRAVDA writes the following: "Communist lawmakers cannot and should not have illusions concerning present bourgeois statehood and democratic nature of the ruling regime.

"At the same time, they should explain the harm of populist and nationalist slogans put forth by Zhirinovskiy and his party. Only a wise and balanced policy pursued by communists in parliament can become a real counterbalance to the antipopular policy which was pursued by radical democrats in the two previous years and which they intend to pursue in future."

The SOVETSKAYA ROSSIA newspaper features an interview with Aman Tuleyev who ran in the Kemerovo constituency. Asked about his position at the new parliament, he said: "I shall move for a serious debate 'a declaration of national economic accord' hammered out in our Kuznetsk coal basin.

"A government of national confidence can base its action programme on this declaration. Kuzbass is the key region in Russia. If the economic situation is stable in it, it will be stable in the country as well.

"But this can be done only by firm political leaders responsible to Russian people. Judging by poll results, people expressed trust in many of them."

The KRASNAYA ZVEZDA newspaper prints a leader on the destiny of discoveries in Russia. "We could be as rich as Americans or Japanese. It is a pity when ideas of our bright heads are snatched by industrialised countries and are returned to us with a label 'made in ....'

"It is even a greater pity when we have development studies and even production facilities but have no money to launch production. It is an open secret that the rapid and large-scale introduction of inventions in the economy is the most promising way for the country's enrichment."

**Chernomyrdin, U.S. Vice President Gore Hold Talks**

*LD1512133293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1111 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Text] The second session of the Intergovernmental Russo-American Commission on Economic and Technological Cooperation is under way behind closed doors at the "President-Hotel" in Moscow. It is chaired by Russia's Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin and U.S. Vice-President Albert Gore. The commission was a result of the agreements reached at the Russo-American Summit in Vancouver. Its first session took place during Chernomyrdin's visit to Washington last September.

Welcoming the guests, the Russian premier noted that the commission was in "for two substantive plenary meetings on Wednesday and Thursday." Taking part on Russia's side are Vice-Premier Aleksandr Shokhin, Fuel and Energy Minister Yuriy Shafanik, Nuclear Power Engineering Minister Viktor Mikhaylov, Ecology Minister Viktor Danilov-Danielyan, Science and Education Minister Boris Saltykov, and Russia's Space Agency Director General Yuriy Koptev.

In his word of reply, Gore described as priority cooperation spheres the exploration of space, the conversion of munitions production to civilian use, and power engineering.

According to Russian experts, each committee is to examine sets of bilateral agreements and contracts, aimed at promoting cooperation between the two countries. They estimate the major project on joint space studies with work by American astronauts aboard the Mir space station at \$400 million.

The session was preceded by an hour-long private discussion between Chernomyrdin and Gore. As INTERFAX has learned, the two leaders discussed a wide range of bilateral cooperation issues, the outcome of the elections and referendum in Russia, and the upcoming visit by U.S. President Bill Clinton to Moscow next month.

**Yeltsin Receives Gore**

*LD1512141193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1303 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennady Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow, 15 December, TASS—On Wednesday afternoon, Russian President Boris Yeltsin met American Vice-President Albert Gore for talks in the Kremlin.

Albert Gore is in Moscow as part of his tour of the former Soviet republics.

Gore briefed President Yeltsin on the meeting of the Russian-American Commission on Economic and Technological Cooperation and summed up his story with a praise of his joint efforts with Russian Prime Minister

Viktor Chernomyrdin as co-chairmen of the commission. The commission met in President Hotel earlier on Wednesday.

The Russian president drew the attention of the U.S. Vice-President to the position of Ukraine with regard to nuclear weapons. In defiance of its earlier commitments Ukraine now intends to keep nuclear arms on its territory. "Ukraine is deceiving us all," Yeltsin said. "It is deceiving the United States, Russia and Europe, it is deceiving the whole world, and we are so helpless that we are unable to cope with this evil."

Albert Gore handed over to Yeltsin a personal message from U.S. President Bill Clinton.

Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrey Kozyrev and Russian Ambassador to the United States Vladimir Lukin are taking part in the meeting.

**Gore Continues Visit**

*LD1512203293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2012 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Text] Moscow, 15 December, TASS—The second day of U.S. Vice-President Albert Gore's official visit to Moscow started today with a meeting with Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin at the "President Hotel" in the Russian capital.

Later a plenary meeting of the inter-governmental Russo-American Commission for Economic and Technological Cooperation was held at the same hotel under the co-chairmanship of Albert Gore and Viktor Chernomyrdin.

In the course of two-day meetings members of the commission will consider various aspects of the development of business cooperation in the field of environmental protection, the conversion of the Russian defense industry to peace-time production and cooperation in the sphere of science and technology, a power engineering policy and space. A large package of Russian-American bilateral agreements is expected to be signed at the end of the meeting on Thursday.

A meeting between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and U.S. Vice-President Albert Gore was held in the afternoon at the Kremlin.

Informing Boris Yeltsin of the course of the meeting of the inter-governmental Russo-American Commission for Economic and Technological Cooperation, Albert Gore stressed that he and Viktor Chernomyrdin had worked well.

Albert Gore conveyed to Boris Yeltsin congratulations from U.S. President Bill Clinton on the occasion of the adoption of the new Russian Constitution at the December 12 referendum.

It was noted during the talks that the new constitution is the main result of the December 12 vote. The new

Fundamental Law of Russia guarantees democratic rights and freedoms of Russian citizens, the adherence of the foreign policy of the Russian Federation to principles and standards of international law, including the United Nations Charter, basic documents of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), in particular the principle of territorial integrity of states.

The Russian president is the guarantor of the constitution who determines main directions of domestic and foreign policies of the country, both sides accentuated. Boris Yeltsin and Albert Gore stressed the dynamic character of Russo-American cooperation in different spheres.

The two leaders also discussed the problems of interaction between Russia and the United States on the international arena including the settlement of the existing conflicts. The Russian president drew the U.S. vice-president's attention to the position of Ukraine on nuclear weapons which the Ukrainian leadership intends to retain despite the earlier pledges stating the opposite.

"Ukraine is deceiving all of us. It is cheating the United States, Russia and Europe, the entire world, and we are so helpless that we cannot cope with this evil," Boris Yeltsin pointed out.

The Russian president confirmed that Russia is looking forward to the U.S. President Bill Clinton's visit to Moscow to the summit meeting scheduled for January 1994. Albert Gore handed over to Boris Yeltsin a personal message from U.S. President Bill Clinton.

Taking part in the meeting on the Russian side were Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and Russian ambassador to the United States Vladimir Lukin.

Later in the evening the American guest and his wife accompanied by the Russian prime minister, were present at an ice hockey match between the Olympic national teams of Russia and the United States which are participating in the international IZVESTIYA Cup ice hockey tournament.

The Russian prime minister will give a dinner in honor of Albert Gore at the government residence.

#### Accords To Be Signed

LD1512214793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1412 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] Russia's Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin and U.S. Vice President Albert Gore plan to sign a package of more than a dozen accords and pave the way for Bill Clinton's visit to Moscow next month. The two leaders are chairing the second session of the Intergovernmental Economic and Technological Cooperation [Commission] that opened in Moscow on Wednesday. Vice-Premier Aleksandr Shokhin, a co-chairman of the Business Cooperation Committee, one of the 6 newly-formed

groups, has told Interfax that reports of all the groups are to be delivered during two days of the session.

He reported that the Committee for Space had drawn up 6 accords, the most important of which was a \$400 Mn [million] contract on piloted flights aboard the Mir-1 station. Over four years NASA will pay Russia \$100 Mn a year to maintain Mir-1 to guarantee flights by U.S. astronauts and modules aboard the space lab. The project will lead to the creation of an international orbital station with a Mir-2 block at its core.

"Although the project has been accepted after one year of debate, the Europeans and Japanese are not too happy because they join it a bit later, and it starts with Russian modules," Shokhin stressed.

He doubts that any fuel deal will be signed, even though many drafts were prepared when the U.S. secretary of energy visited Moscow recently. There are plans to complete five "most advanced oil projects," the "Sakhalin-2" one included as soon as possible, even though there are some hitches, caused by the absence of appropriate legislation in Russia. But these problems, as Shokhin believes, could be resolved by a parliamentary law or a presidential decree.

#### More Cooperation Urged

LD1512190293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 15 Dec 93

[By correspondent A. Peslyak of meeting between Russian Prime Minister Chernomyrdin and U.S. Vice President Albert Gore]

[Text] U.S. Vice President Albert Gore, during his present official visit to Moscow, has the opportunity to get the most reliable information about what is happening in Russia at first hand. Today he had meetings with the Russian president and prime minister. [video shows Chernomyrdin and Gore shaking hands]

[Peslyak] The television and news cameramen greeted the handshake between the cochairmen of the Russian-U.S. Cooperation Commission with the words: More Light.

After a half hour of private talks, Vice President Gore and Prime Minister Chernomyrdin opened the Commission's second meeting. [video shows commission meeting]

Both sides presented the cochairmen of six committees for business development, for environment, energy, nuclear safety, conversion of defense industry, and for space. Since the September meeting in Washington, time has moved quickly and many exceptional events have taken place, Albert Gore noted. New agreements and plans are to be signed, Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin added.



### Cooperation Agreements Signed

LD1612114293 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 1132  
GMT 16 Dec 93

[Report by *ITAR-TASS* correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 16 December, TASS—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and U.S. Vice President Albert Gore signed on Friday [as received] a joint declaration on cooperation on international space station, an intergovernmental agreement on technical and scientific cooperation, a memorandum on cooperation in military conversion and a statement on general principles of cooperation in ensuring safety of nuclear power plants.

The documents were signed after the second session of the Russian-American commission on economic and technological cooperation completed its work in Moscow. Chernomyrdin and Gore also exchanged ratification certificates on the treaty for avoiding double taxation.

A total of 12 documents were signed in two days of work of the commission envisaging, in particular, bilateral cooperation in manned space flights and in space research.

### Chernomyrdin Praises Gore

LD1612120193 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 1151  
GMT 16 Dec 93

[Report by *ITAR-TASS* correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 16 December, (TASS)—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin praised U.S. Vice-President Albert Gore for his personal contribution to developing cooperation between the two countries, while Gore responded that fruitful work of the bilateral cooperation commission was possible only thanks to good personal relations with Chernomyrdin.

Chernomyrdin told a press conference on Friday that Gore had contributed a lot to "the achievement of solid results of the Russian-American partnership" during the work of the joint commission on economic and technological cooperation.

"Today we have opened new historic horizons in Russian-American and international cooperation in peaceful space exploration", Chernomyrdin said adding that Russia had been officially invited to join the "project of the century," which envisages the construction of a manned space station by leading space powers by the beginning of the new century.

"The project will give our country considerable economic effect," the prime minister said.

Gore stressed that his good relations with the Russian premier allowed to achieve such results in two days of work which earlier would demand years. He added that

they had succeeded to quickly eliminate both American and Russian red tape obstacles.

Gore said that the results of Russian elections would not influence bilateral relations, but added that the world cannot keep silent when such persons like nationalist leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy are talking about elimination of people.

Gore expressed his opinion that most Russians who had voted for Zhirinovskiy were unaware of his views and said that the Russian elections are another lesson of the century.

### Russia Hopes To Break Into U.S. Uranium Market

LD1512215593 Moscow *INTERFAX in English* 1412  
GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow will put forward proposals for nuclear cooperation with the United States at Wednesday's session by the Gore-Chernomyrdin commission, Nuclear Energy Minister Viktor Mikhailov told *INTERFAX*. These provide for establishing joint companies on the production, enrichment and marketing of nuclear fuel, and development of new generation nuclear reactors together with the U.S. General Atomics Company.

For this to happen, said the minister, Russia must create a conducive investment climate. For their part, the Americans must display a good will gesture by sharing half of the uranium market they now control, Mikhailov said.

He spoke of signs of progress in this field hoping that the two countries would sign a deal on reprocessing weapons grade uranium during Al Gore's current visit to Russia or when President Clinton arrives for summit talks in Moscow in January. Under the deal, the U.S. is committed to pay Russia a total of \$12 Bn [billion] spread over 20 years or \$600 Mn [million] a year.

The minister also hopes that the U.S. will open up its domestic market for Russian uranium producers who lost a total of \$400 Mn in 1992-93 because of U.S. protectionist measures.

At the same time, Mikhailov said the two countries reached a range of agreements including U.S. assistance in nuclear disarmament and higher safety at Russia's nuclear power stations, but these run at less than \$400 Mn.

### Oil Cooperation With U.S. Welcomed

PM1512182793 Moscow *ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian* 15 Dec 93

[Article by Nikolay Myakinnik: "Under Protection? U.S. Corporations Are Prepared To Reequip the Russian Oil Industry"—from the *PROMYSHLENNAYA GAZETA* section p III]

[Text] Hardly anyone in our country has knows how much hydrocarbon raw material is lost through evaporation; and indeed why should we, when we are still pouring it out into the tundra and taiga and burning it off in flares? Meanwhile, U.S. specialists are paying serious attention to the evaporation of hydrocarbons from the fixed roofs of storage tanks, leading to losses of a valuable product and the pollution of the environment.

The simplest and most advantageous solution to the aforesaid problem is a floating roof protecting the open surface of the liquid. No other technical option can be as effective. At present, the most popular model for a cover has been the pontoon-type "Ultraflow" design. It forms a vaportight hermetic seal that locks in the layer of saturated vapor that forms over the surface of the liquid.

The floating roof is one of several thousand exhibits displayed at a U.S. trade fair held in Moscow recently by 150 U.S. corporations that manufacture oil, gas, and petrochemical equipment. The range of models of equipment includes, strictly speaking, the entire technological process of the extraction, transportation, and refining of oil, even down to communications facilities and clothing for the oilmen. All the indications are that U.S. firms are banking on a switch from sales of individual types of equipment to the servicing of the Russian oil industry. That is why over 80 percent of the exhibition participants were firms which were moving into our market for the first time.

The financial support for the event attracts attention. An object of special pride to the leaders of the Russian Federation Ministry of Fuel and Energy is a U.S.-Russian framework agreement on oil and gas signed in April 1993. Under this, the U.S. Export-Import Bank will grant a \$2 billion credit to Russian enterprises for the acquisition of the U.S. corporations' equipment. The exhibition was essentially the first practical step in the implementation of the framework agreement.

In the face of the financial crisis, the credits will undoubtedly help our enterprises to surge forward in leading the oil industry out of crisis. Particularly since they will be used primarily in such strategic areas as the overhaul of inactive oil wells, the development of new deposits, and enhanced oil refining. Thus, the reconstruction of only a dozen refineries can ensure enhanced refining equivalent to an additional yield of 30,000 tonnes of petroleum.

The advanced level of American technologies and equipment for oil and gas extraction is famous and virtually unparalleled worldwide. Anatoliy Shatalov, deputy minister of fuel and energy, who is in charge of foreign economic questions, believes that we should have turned to American experience a long time ago. "It's a pity that the Cold War got in the way in the past."

Meanwhile, we have specialists who are not particularly euphoric about relying on foreign technologies. At the same time they are painfully aware of and are analyzing the factors and reasons for our real laziness. As usual, we

ourselves are to blame. We believed that nature would give us everything we needed without any special effort on our part: The gushers would always gush as they had done in the past. We were, to put it mildly, conceptually wrong. Until recently our oilmen were used to dealing with well yields of over 50 tonnes a day. The Americans, however, have long been working wells with a yield of 2.5-3 tonnes a day. Consequently, experience has forced them to move ahead.

And experience must also force us to concentrate more attention on the capabilities of our own native machine building, the broad use of conversion capacities, and the initiative of our own entrepreneurs. Of course, we ourselves can manufacture rigs, Christmas trees, and all kinds of pipes. But navigation apparatus' used in horizontal drilling, for instance, are another matter, and it is better for us to buy them. That, incidentally, is the position of Valeriy Grayfer, an experienced oilman and now general director of an innovative Russian fuel and energy company.

In a word, alongside the satisfaction we are experiencing today at strengthening trade and economic relations with America, we cannot fail to be worried by the prospect of finding ourselves inside a kind of protective cocoon formed by the transatlantic oil service—a cocoon that will not only prevent hydrocarbon vapor from escaping, but will also concentrate in the hands of the new bosses the revenue from our own oil because all this will have to be paid for.

The stance of Yuriy Shafranik, Russian minister of fuel and energy, is somewhat reassuring: Every time he is in contact with the Americans he elaborates the prospects of setting up the production here in our country of equipment bought on the other side of the ocean. Nevertheless, reliance on any—even the most advanced—foreign technologies today dooms us to inevitable laziness tomorrow. Only our own scientific achievements can ensure definitive success. Amid all other efforts, our science first and foremost must be extracted from inside the financial cocoon.

#### **Russian-U.S. Space Cooperation Plans Reported**

*PM1612103593 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA  
PRAVDA in Russian 16 Dec 93 p 7*

[Report by Yelena Ovcharenko: "With Gore Space Will Go Uphill"]

[Text] It is not for nothing that we once took pride in the fact that we went into space and had the best ballet. Our past achievements have come in useful: On the eve of U.S. Vice President A. Gore's visit to Russia, Canada, Japan, the United States, and members of the Eurospace agency have officially asked Russia to take part in the construction of an international orbital station. The way will thus be opened to the signing of the relevant agreement in Moscow—in exchange, the U.S. press asserts, for Russia's undertaking to sign a document on the control of the export of its missile technologies.

The space program is designed to bring together the Americans' plans for creating their own "Alpha" orbital station and Russia's plans for constructing the second section of the "Mir" complex. It is planned that as early as 1994 a Russian cosmonaut will go into orbit on board the "Shuttle" and a year later there will be an American in the "Soyuz-18" crew, who will work on the "Mir" station for three months.

The partners will set about fitting the base in orbit in 1997. Among other elements it will include a space tug, a Russian life support module, and a U.S. experimental laboratory.

According to present plans from 1995 through 1997 four U.S. astronauts, one crew member representing "Euro-space," and one Frenchman will work on the "Mir" station. By 1995, Russia will add two modules to "Mir," with both Russian and U.S. equipment installed to conduct the necessary experiments.

Nonetheless how advantageous is the space program to the two countries? I shall cite existing results from as yet uncompleted U.S. calculations. NASA contracts promise Russia \$100 million a year for the next four years. At the same time according to the estimates of the U.S. "space department" Russian participation in the program will make it possible to reduce the expenses planned for the "Alpha" project by \$3-\$4 billion by reducing the construction schedule by two years. And the complex should begin to operate at full strength by October 2001.

Today in Moscow a package of Russian-American bilateral agreements will be signed on the results of the two-day sitting of the second session of the Russian-U.S. commission for economic and technological cooperation. It will also contain an agreement on space. That is important, because space is a Russian frontier like all the others.

#### **Kozyrev Expresses Reservations on Czech NATO Membership**

*AU1512133593 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 11 Dec 93 p 8*

[Interview with Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev by Petra Prochazkova and Jaromir Setina on 10 December; place not given: "Rejecting Russia's Interests Would Be Pernicious, Andrey Kozyrev Tells LIDOVE NOVINY"]

[Text] The statement by NATO's 16 defense ministers that the alliance remains open to countries of Central and Eastern Europe is viewed by the Russian press as an unpleasant surprise for President Yeltsin. "Russia's objections to the expansion of NATO will not be taken into account," IZVESTIYA wrote yesterday. Another paper pointed out a major disagreement between NATO representatives and the Russian delegation, which appeared between NATO Secretary General M. Woerner and Russian President Boris Yeltsin during an official breakfast.

At a news conference yesterday, LIDOVE NOVINY asked Foreign Minister Kozyrev the following:

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Sir, regarding the possibility of the Czech Republic joining NATO, the so-called Russian spheres of interest have become a frequently discussed topic in Moscow. Was this issue also discussed in Brussels? If so, was it decided where the borders of the Russian sphere of interest in Eastern Europe should be drawn?

[Kozyrev] Having rejected the Brezhnev doctrine, Russia will not ignore its interests in and responsibility for the processes taking place in Central and Eastern Europe. I would not like to precisely demarcate our sphere of interests, but it includes a very large territory. Rejecting Russia's interest would be pernicious and would have tragic consequences for these countries. Just think what would have happened without Russia's peace efforts in former Yugoslavia. Much more blood would flow there. Or, what would happen if the Russian Army left Tadjikistan? It would be a tragedy. We understand quite well the difference between imperialist policy and something that we call Russian interests.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Do you know that many commentaries in the Czech press describe the talks between the superpowers on the Czech Republic's joining NATO as talks "about us without us"?

The minister did not answer this question.

#### **Trade Agreement Marks 'New Relationship' With EU**

*PM1512121193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Dec 93 First Edition p 4*

[Report by Aleksey Portanskiy: "When Cold Wars Stop, Trade Wars Begin"]

[Text] Russia is not going to become a member of the European Union [EU] in the foreseeable future. It will not be admitted to the Council of Europe or GATT in the next few years. NATO membership could be imagined, but not EU membership—the gap in economic development is too wide. Nevertheless, it is economic collaboration with the EU that is yielding the most tangible benefits for a Russia embarked on the path of reforms.

A kind of transitional arrangement is possible between systems that do not actually dovetail. For a number of countries outside the Community (East Europe) a form of agreement on associate membership of the EU has become such an arrangement. A form essentially very close to this—the Agreement on Partnership and Cooperation—was devised for Russia in the light of its specific character. Such a document, sealed by the Russian Federation president and the EU leadership in the Declaration on Partnership and Cooperation, signed by them in Brussels last week, is now almost ready.



The declaration says: The parties deem it essential to create a qualitatively new basis for their economic relations on the principles of a market economy. In so doing they recognize that Russia is henceforth a country with a transitional-period economy rather than a state trading system. These lines encapsulate the crucial change in Russia's relations with the group of Western states—a change that could not have occurred before.

#### **Communism's Trade Legacy**

The point is that present-day Russia did not only inherit from the communist regime a record number of tanks and missiles, which are now being scrapped without special problems; it also received en bloc from the recent past numerous discriminatory measures and restrictions in trade, which are sometimes more difficult to get rid of than the mountains of weapons, and which constitute an equally onerous and difficult burden to bear.

The West, including the EU, has until recent times regarded virtually all trade with Russia (the former Union) as a kind of "special case," given the lack of competition, the absence of free prices on sources of energy, Russia's nonparticipation in GATT, and non-compliance with environmental standards, and the generally centralized nature of economic management. All this has considerably complicated our exports' access to world markets.

It has taken 18 months of complex negotiations between Russian Federation and EC Commission delegations to destroy this "special case" concept in the minds of our Western partners.

#### **What Russian Exporters Can Do**

But can our exporters compete freely with the West Europeans at all? According to information from our delegation at the negotiations with the EU, 16 antidumping procedures are currently being enacted against Russian goods by Community bodies. We therefore have at least 16 competitive goods.

These are mainly uranium, aluminum, ferrous alloys, mineral fertilizers, vodka, footwear, certain kinds of electronic items, and machine building products. In the sphere of services it applies to the commercial launching of satellites into space, and trucks. It is interesting that in certain regards the export of Russian goods and services meets with a pretty fair attitude on the part of EU countries. For example, 11 of the 12 are ready to accept our offers regarding trade in nuclear fuel. Problems regarding uranium do arise with France, however, as, incidentally, they do regarding satellite launches.

#### **From Star Wars to Trade Wars**

To be fair, it should be noted that Russia itself operates toward the EU with elements of a protectionist policy. For example, notwithstanding the persistent requests by our partners that we open up the Russian services market to them in the sphere of river and river-sea transport, we

have not done so to date, believing that we will be ready to open this sector only in a few years' time.

It would be naive to think that the Declaration on Partnership abolishes trade restrictions altogether. The point of the new relationship is that the mechanism for resolving disputes becomes nondiscriminatory and consultative. Nor should it be thought that it does away with acute problems. Who has not heard of the so-called "steel," "meat," "wine," and other "wars" between the United States and the EU? However, these wars occur from positions of legal equality between the parties. Russia is now becoming an equal party for the EU like the relationship between the United States or Japan.

#### **Government Reportedly Planning New Bosnia Initiative**

*LD1612111093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1020 GMT 16 Dec 93*

[Report by ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow, 16 Dec—The Russian side plans to create a new initiative aimed at the quickest possible completion of the process of settlement in Bosnia, an ITAR-TASS correspondent has discovered from a reliable source.

Vitaliy Churkin, deputy foreign minister and special representative of the Russian Federation president, will, the source said, be flying to Geneva in the next few days, where talks are to be held on 21 December on settlement in Yugoslavia. On 22 December, he will be participating in a meeting of representatives of the sides and the foreign ministers of the European Union in Brussels.

#### **British, European Left Seen Split on Yeltsin**

*PM1512152593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 3*

[Article by Boris Kagarlitskiy, member of the Russian Labor Party Executive Committee: "Social Democrats Start To Understand What Is Happening in Moscow"]

[Text] On 21 September and 4 October politicians of the entire "civilized" West simultaneously adopted resolutions in support of the dissolution of parliament, the violation of the Russian Constitution, and the shelling of the White House. I have to admit that I have never been an enthusiastic admirer of Western society, but this almost total "general approbation" did come as a surprise to me.

The stance adopted by social democracy was even more striking. British MP [member of parliament] Ken Livingstone stated: "Russia proved too important an issue for the right-wingers in social democracy to afford the luxury of swimming against the tide; they instinctively 'fell in line' and followed the ruling class' lead: We now

realize who is a left-winger in words alone and who actually defends the working people's interests."

In October, Western left-wingers, apart from a few of the most radical figures and groups, issued no strongly worded condemnation of the coup. However, much has become clear in the two months since the October events. Protests against the violation of human rights in Russia are mounting, while the governments supporting the Yeltsin regime find it increasingly difficult to control public opinion in their own countries.

I was able to meet with representatives of the British Trades Union Congress and the Labor Party and with British MP's and MEP's in London, Paris, and Strasbourg between 14 and 19 November. The trip was organized by the group of Labor Party members in the European Parliament. During the October events the majority of the Socialist Group in the European Parliament adopted a resolution effectively supporting Yeltsin's actions. Admittedly, the resolution did contain a host of provisos regarding the observance of human rights and democratic procedures, but it did not condemn the dissolution of parliament, protest against the shelling of the White House, or call for the restoration of constitutional order.

The document generated a real storm of indignation in Labor Party ranks. Most of the party's group in the European Parliament, including Stan Newens, the spokesman on international issues, opposed it and signed their own resolution sharply condemning Yeltsin. During October and November, the "dissidents" were able to win over an ever-increasing number of members of the parliament, and not just those from left-wing factions. Centrists and some right-wingers stated that they were extremely concerned about the situation prevailing in Russia and the growing threat of Yeltsin's authoritarianism.

As Nick Sigler, international secretary of the Labor Party, said: "Stances regarding Yeltsin are currently under review." Even Eisso Woltjer, author of the October resolution, has publicly stated that a tougher stance should be adopted toward Yeltsin.

Unfortunately the Western public is inadequately informed, while all reports from Russia are carefully screened by our official mass media and Western sources close to the IMF. That is why MEP's and trade union leaders are interested in establishing more direct, immediate channels of communication—primarily with the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia.

By the end of November a statement protesting authoritarianism in Russia had been signed in Britain by more than 80 MP's. They were joined by a number of influential trade union figures. If any attacks are made on trade unions, they will, it has been said, do all within their power to exert pressure on the Russian government and make it comply with international norms.

### Comment on Nuclear Threat From 'Unstable' Ukraine

LD1512111893 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0910 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] Kazakhstan's parliament has endorsed the country's joining the nuclear weapons Nonproliferation Treaty. Our commentary is by Anatoliy Potapov.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union its nuclear arsenal remained in four republics: Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine. Russia's status as a nuclear state is understandable. Russia is the legal successor to the Soviet Union as a nuclear power. Belarus has come out in favor of its status as a nonnuclear state. It has joined the nuclear weapons Nonproliferation Treaty and the Belarusian parliament has ratified the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, START-I. And now Kazakhstan has joined the nuclear arms Nonproliferation Treaty as a nonnuclear state. The Republic has also ratified the START-I treaty.

And now Ukraine. All security guarantees Ukraine would like to have to become a nonnuclear state have been given by Russia and the West. However, the Ukrainian parliament has recently practically proclaimed the country a nuclear power, stating that it possesses the nuclear weapons it has inherited from the former Soviet Union. Evading the earlier commitments, the country has failed to join the nuclear arms Nonproliferation Treaty.

The international community is concerned over the Ukrainian position. The problem was discussed a few days ago at the meetings of the foreign affairs ministers of the countries of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the defense ministers of the NATO countries, and the leaders of the European Union countries. They issued statements concerning the Ukrainian position, though without specific proposals.

The American Defense Secretary Les Aspin is quoted as saying that the West will be cautious in its approach to Ukraine if it keeps the nuclear weapons.

Only Russia is tackling the problem of Ukraine's nuclear arsenal, while other nuclear states and NATO are evading concrete measures. The Russian President Boris Yeltsin said that much to the NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner in Brussels a few days ago. Mr. Woerner promised that NATO would take necessary steps.

In fact, the international community has to pay greater attention to the threat of the existence of another nuclear state in Europe with an unstable political power.

### Japanese Perception of Reduced Russian 'Threat' Noted

PM1512105793 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 7

[Report by correspondent Nikolay Tsvetkov: "Threat Has Moved West, the Japanese Have Moved South"]

[Text] Tokyo—The Japan Defense Agency has concluded that the scale of the threat from the north has actually diminished of late. The possibility of military intervention by Russia is not as great as it was in Soviet times. Japanese defense policy can therefore be amended in the section dealing with the defense of Japan's northern borders.

First of all, the biggest exercises performed by the ground "Self-Defense Forces" will be renamed. Not right away, but from 1996. At the moment they are called "Special Assault Northward," but in the future they will be called "Special Long-Distance Assault."

But that is not all. There are plans to redeploy a number of subunits stationed on Hokkaido, the northernmost of the Japanese islands where the climate is harsh and where winter temperatures sometimes fall below zero, to central and southern Japan.

The Defense Agency report stresses that, despite the lessening of the "Soviet threat" factor, vigilance must not be relaxed under any circumstances and the rate of military organizational development must not be slowed down, since unstable trends in the world are on the increase.

#### **Commentator Hails Iran's Call for Ties With CIS**

NC1612104693 Moscow Radio Moscow in Persian 1600 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Commentary by Sergiy Viktorov]

[Text] Iranian President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani has spoken in favor of expanding cooperation with all the CIS countries. IRNA reports that the Iranian president, who was speaking at a seminar of representatives of Iranian diplomatic missions in these countries, spoke about expanding relations with each one. Radio Moscow analyst Sergey Viktorov writes:

The Iranian leadership's wish to expand cooperation with the CIS countries reflects a significant trend in Iran's foreign policy. Previously, Tehran supported (?normal) relations with [words indistinct]. But you can't say Iran does not have its priorities.

First, the Iranian leadership wants to expand its relations with the Central Asian countries, Kazakhstan, and Azerbaijan. But the objectives behind Iran's cooperation with these countries are not the same. Iran's economic relations with neighboring Turkmenistan are the most (?steadfast) and the strongest. Both countries are implementing a series of joint projects with a very good outlook in the various fields and trade between them is expanding.

Tashkent, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan enjoy lesser economic cooperation with Iran. But a series of mutual visits and exchanges of delegations between Iran and these Central Asian countries and Almaty facilitated the signing of a series of interesting agreements.

For political reasons it is hard to expect intense cooperation between Iran and Tajikistan soon. As was shown by President Hashemi-Rafsanjani's recent visit to Azerbaijan, after Elchibey resigned in Baku, [words indistinct]. But 20 percent of Azerbaijani territory has been occupied by Armenian Armed Forces and the true situation in this war-stricken country does not help to expand Azerbaijan's relations with Iran.

As for relations with the non-Islamic countries in the CIS, Iran's economic-commercial cooperation with Russia is of primary importance. Relations between the two countries are extremely (?favorable); the most important issue is that these relations are based on equality and mutually beneficial principles. Experts believe that Iranian-Russian cooperation in many fields, namely [words indistinct], has a good future. But [words indistinct] if Iran proposes political conditions, for example, concerning Tajikistan or Russia's military-technical cooperation with the Arab countries of the Persian Gulf, these relations may be greatly harmed.

The facts show that Tehran's cooperation with the CIS will be extremely (?beneficial). Once there was talk about strengthening (?cooperation) between Iran and Ukraine, primarily in fuel and energy and in (?technical) fields. But we think that because of the extremely difficult economic situation in Ukraine, you cannot speak of very [word indistinct] bilateral commercial-economic cooperation.

But the statement by President Hashemi-Rafsanjani on the need for Iran to expand cooperation with the CIS members should be welcomed, since relations based on the principle of equality and mutual benefits are the correct way to achieve understanding among nations and to establish stability in this vast area.



## Political & Media Issues

### Yeltsin Dismisses Second Aide, Ostankino Director

#### Kotenkov Fired as Legal Department Chief

LD1612085293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0828 GMT 16 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow December 16 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin fired another of his aides on Thursday [16 December].

His press service reported that Aleksandr Kotenkov was dismissed from the post of the head of the legal department at the Russian president.

No reasons were cited.

On Wednesday Yeltsin fired his aide Sergey Stankevich. No reasons were given, but observers linked it to the failure of the pro-Yeltsin Russia's Choice bloc at parliamentary elections.

Russian mass media reported on Thursday that chairman of the state-run "Ostankino" TV network Vyacheslav Bragin might be also sacked.

#### Decision Linked to PRUA Membership

LD1612093193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0905 GMT 16 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow, 16 Dec—The head of the State Legal Administration, Aleksandr Kotenkov, who was dismissed today by presidential decree, links this decision with his membership in the Party of Russian Unity and Accord [PRUA]. In an interview with an ITAR-TASS correspondent, he said: "Many people don't like the Party of Russian Unity and Accord to which I belong. I was asked to try and persuade its leader, Sergey Shakhrai, to unite with Russia's Choice, but I did not do this."

Aleksandr Kotenkov said that, unlike the former presidential adviser, Sergey Stankevich, who is testifying in a criminal case, he is "not mixed up in any crime."

It is worth noting that the head of the State Legal Administration learned about his dismissal from the ITAR-TASS report.

#### Ostankino Directors Urge Bragin's Ouster

LD1512220093 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 15 Dec 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Today the board of directors of the Ostankino Television and Radio Company sent a petition to the Russian Federation president urging that company chairman Vyacheslav Bragin be immediately dismissed from his post.

The appeal says that already a year has passed since Ostankino started working under the leadership of a man who was brought to this post by virtue of the political situation. During this time, the journalists of the television company write, we all saw what the incompetence of such a high-ranking leader can bring. We tried to work without violating the political status quo and tried to do everything we could so that Ostankino's reputation would not suffer.

Unfortunately, it was beyond our powers in crucial situations. The October events, interrupted broadcasting, incomprehensible excuses, attempts to hide behind the back of the prime minister—all this inflicted great damage on the reputation of our company, the Ostankino directors' statement says.

As a result of the removal of experienced journalists from the election campaign, a great number of unprofessional reports, including advertisements, appeared on the air. They had a destructive effect on the image of primarily democratic electoral blocs.

The board of directors of the Ostankino Television Company appealed to the Russian president to consider the candidature put forward by the journalists for the post of head of the television company.

#### Bragin Relieved of Duties

LD1612090593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0848 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 16 TASS—Vyacheslav Bragin, chairman of the Ostankino TV and radio company was relieved of his duties on Thursday [16 December]. He informed the company's board of directors of this event this morning, saying that he learnt about his dismissal from a conversation with the Russian President's Press Secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov.

#### Poltoranin Deputy Possible Replacement

MK1612101093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Dec 93 p 1

["U.Kh." report under the "In Brief" rubric: "Same People Minus Bragin"]

[Text] Vyacheslav Bragin's fate is sealed, according to information from sources around the president. He will leave his position as head of "Ostankino" as the first major victim of the losers' wrath. Mr. Bragin is rumored to be getting the position of Russia's ambassador to Oslo as a moral recompense. Someone extremely competent in television affairs has thus commented on the news: "To fire is easy but it is hard to appoint someone new. Today only yet another nonprofessional or a madman

might agree to head 'Ostankino.'" According to some information, the candidacy of Mr. Yushenkov, Mikhail Poltoranin's deputy in the Federal Information Center, is being considered.

#### Yeltsin Spokesman Comments

LD1612123993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Excerpt] The dismissal of Aleksandr Kotenkov, the head of the Russian president's State Legal Administration, and Vyacheslav Bragin, the Ostankino chief, should be viewed in the context of wide-ranging personnel maneuvers in the new political situation. RIA was informed of this by Vyacheslav Kostikov, the president's press secretary. Kostikov said that no decision had yet been taken on replacements for the two men. [passage omitted]

#### Kremlin Spokesman Discusses Stankevich's Departure

LD1512171893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1412 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] As a Kremlin spokesman has told Interfax, a decision to dismiss 40-year-old Sergey Stankevich from the office of a political adviser to the president is not surprising. According to a senior official, a number of analytical reports, prepared by Stankevich and his assistants, were misleading and counterproductive.

Meanwhile, many of Stankevich's colleagues have admired his audacity and discipline. A historian with a scientific degree, he was appointed to the office by a presidential decree on September 2 last year to report on the position of ethnic Russians in CIS states.

Observers point to his close links with Russian Orthodox Church leaders.

#### Stankevich Explains 'Resignation'

LD1512193293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] Sergey Stankevich, adviser to the president of the Russian Federation for political questions, has offered his resignation to the president. Many news bulletins began with this headline this morning. Why has he done this? In the opinion of Sergey Stankevich, symptoms of a very severe political crisis were revealed during the election campaign and the voting by the citizens.

[Begin Stankevich recording] I am very alarmed at these events and I am very dissatisfied with my own contribution to preventing this crisis. [end recording]

Also, in the opinion of the former presidential aide, the most important thing today is to understand exactly the message which the electorate has sent to the deputies and the government.

[Begin Stankevich recording] It is extremely important that every politician should feel personal responsibility for the critical turn in the life of the country. It is because I feel this responsibility that I am leaving the post of adviser. However, this is not some kind of protest. [end recording]

But in assessing the future prospects for Russia's political life, Sergey Stankevich stressed that the main task today was not to seek for those to blame but to concentrate fully on defending the democratic reforms which will ensure that Russia moves forward.

#### Future Plans Viewed

MK1612125093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 16 Dec 93 p 2

[Yelena Tregubova report under the "Resignations" rubric: "Sergey Stankevich—the First Victim of the Elections. Reshuffles Begin"]

[Text] On Tuesday night [14 December] Boris Yeltsin issued an edict dismissing Sergey Stankevich from the office of presidential adviser on political matters. The edict does not give reasons for this removal. According to Anatoliy Krasikov, chief of the presidential press service, "This is a beginning of casting related to the elections results: Some people somewhere will have to be moved to other positions." In Krasikov's words, "given the changing situation, in the near future it will be decided how to use the available forces in a more rational fashion." The presidential press service chief assured that "no one has any doubts about Mr. Stankevich's views, no one is punishing him for anything." However, he noted, "The president has not yet given Stankevich any new assignments... But Sergey Borisovich heads an analytical center and, according to my information, he is not going to give up this job, so he will not be unemployed..."

Sergey Stupar, the former adviser's aide, said in that regard that Sergey Stankevich does not formally head the analytical center in question, the Russian Sociopolitical Center under Georgiy Satarov, and that one could talk only about his cooperation with it. "In addition, Sergey Stankevich will, of course, continue to be engaged in the organization of the Party for Russian Unity and Accord [PRUA]." Sergey Stupar said, "and he may also become a deputy on the PRUA list." According to Sergey Stupar, Mr. Stankevich "himself raised the question of his resignation, because he feels responsible for the defeat of the democratic forces in the elections." Stankevich's aide pointed particularly to the fact that "upon resigning Sergey Borisovich thanked the president for two years of cooperation and expressed his hope for further fruitful joint work in reforming Russia."

Some sources in the president's entourage, however, say that Sergey Stankevich's removal "only coincided with the election results, but had been maturing for a long time." According to the sources, Sergey Borisovich "was

fired for specific actions because, while in the president's entourage, he had very long tried to work for himself, not for the president."

#### **Government Ready To Cooperate With New Parliament**

*LD1512172793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1654 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Velichko]

[Text] Moscow December 15 TAS—"The government is inclined to cooperate in a constructive manner with a new parliament", Russian First Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets told reporters on Wednesday [15 December].

Commenting on the results of this year, the first deputy prime minister expressed regret over the continuing output decline in certain industries. However, he noted, the government took some measures which enabled to improve the country's financial state on the whole: "We have managed to curb inflation which may help stabilize the rouble". Furthermore, he praised the government for "seeking to change factory managers' views as to how the industry should be run". According to Soskovets, the government continues searching for new forms of management of production through granting the regions greater autonomy rather than through excessive centralization. "Work in this direction should be stepped up in 1994", he stressed.

The first vice-premier spoke in favour of the policy of "reasonable protectionism with respect to domestic producers". Referring to the experience gained in this field by member-countries of the European Union and the United States, which for example imposed tight restrictions upon the export markets of aluminium, uranium and other types of goods, Soskovets said this policy should be more actively pursued by the Russian Government next year. Apart from this, he believes, we should attract not only internal but also foreign investors to restructure our industry. He accounts for the ineffective investment policy by the country's hard financial position, on the one hand, and by the imperfect banking system on the other hand.

When asked by TASS about the future government composition, Soskovets said the government should be above all professional. "New government members should include sound economic forces, as well as people coming directly from the industry", he stressed.

#### **First Federal Assembly Session To Be Held 11 Jan**

*LD1512220993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Text] INTERFAX reports that it is planned that the first plenary session of two chambers of the Federal Assembly of Russia will be held on 11 January 1994 in

the parliamentary center in Tsvetnoy Bulvar. Separate sessions of the Federation Council and the State Duma will be held as has been planned—accordingly in the buildings of the former House of the Russian Press and the Moscow mayor's office in Novyy Arbat. It is not yet clear whether the chambers will start their work straight after 11 January or some time later after the first plenary session of the Federal Assembly.

#### **Coup Trial To Continue Despite Defendants' Election**

*LD1512215293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1412 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Text] Russia's Supreme Court told Interfax that election of the former speaker of the Soviet Parliament, Anatoliy Lukyanov, as deputy of Russia's State Duma presents no obstacles to his participation in the August coup leaders trial. The same concerns Vasilii Starodubtsev, a member of the August State Emergency Committee, who has also been elected to the Federation Council.

Both of them are accused of high treason in the form of conspiracy aimed at the seizure of power. If their guilt is proved, Lukyanov and Starodubtsev will face 10-15 years' imprisonment or the death penalty.

According to an expert of the Supreme Court's Military board, where the trial is being conducted, Russia's new Constitution does not provide for guarantees against judicial persecution regarding those deputies against whom criminal charges have been already brought.

At the same time in an interview with Interfax Lukyanov's lawyer Genrikh Padva said he believed that, according to the Decree on Elections, his defendant had deputy's immunity. The new parliament must present its approval on Lukyanov's participation in the trial otherwise the case against him will be stopped, he noted. However, whether or not Lukyanov will use this right remains open because the ex-speaker does not plead guilty and insists on a just verdict at the trial, underlined the lawyer.

The time to resume the August coup leaders trial has not been determined yet (it was interrupted due to the illness of defendants Valentin Pavlov and Anatoliy Lukyanov). At present Lukyanov is at home with pneumonia and Pavlov is staying in a hospital suffering from hypertension.

#### **Yeltsin Issues Decrees on Flag, National Anthem**

*LD1612052193 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0200 GMT 16 Dec 93*

[Text] President Boris Yeltsin has issued two decrees aimed at regulating the use of the national anthem and flag of Russia. The status of the national flag and anthem is confirmed in these documents. Laid down in them is the procedure for performing the anthem and for raising the flag. The national flag of Russia is a white, blue and



red tricolor, rectangular in shape. And the anthem is a melody composed from a patriotic song by Glinka.

### SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Gives Reasons for Nonpublication

PM1512110993 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 14 Dec 93 p 1

[Editorial feature: "Why the Newspaper Was Silent"]

[Text] We cite here certain documents explaining the ban on the publication of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, which has lasted more than two months. We intend to continue our discussion of this issue.

First of all we received this order.

"Order No. 183 of 4 October 1993

"In execution of Edict No. 1578 of the Russian Federation president dated 4 October 1993 'On Immediate Measures To Ensure a State of Emergency Regime in the City of Moscow'

"I order:

"1. That the leaders of the mass media, radio, television, publishing houses, and printing plants rigorously implement the Russian Federation Law 'On the Mass Media' on Russian Federation territory, the Russian Federation Law 'On a State of Emergency' on the territory of the city of Moscow, and also the Russian Federation President's Edicts No. 1400 and No. 1452.

"2. That the leaders of publishing houses, printing enterprises, and printing plants and the editors and distributors of the mass media suspend publication and distribution of publications whose founders are public associations that participated in the mass disturbances and other unlawful actions in the city of Moscow, and also publications that support the unlawful activity of the said associations (PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, DEN, GAZETA DUKHOVNOY OPOZITSII, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, GLASNOST, NARODNAYA GAZETA, RUSSKIY PORYADOK, RUSSKIY VESTNIK, and others).

"3. That the State Inspectorate for Protecting Press and Mass Media Freedom (headed by Yu.M. Luchinskiy) take measures to implement Point 8 of the Russian Federation president's Edict No. 1578 on the territory of the city of Moscow and implement the Russian Federation Law 'On the Mass Media' on the territory of the Russian Federation.

"4. That it be established that the leaders of the mass media, publishing houses, printing enterprises, and printing plants assume personal responsibility for failure to implement this order.

"[Signed] First Deputy Minister D.D. Tsabriya"

Nine days later we received another order.

"Order No. 355-uk of 13 October 1993

"In execution of the Russian Federation president's Edicts No. 1400 dated 21 September 1993 and No. 1578 dated 4 October 1993

"I order:

"1. That Valentin Vasilyevich Chikin be relieved of the position of chief editor of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA with effect from 13 October 1993.

"2. That Yuriy Nikolayevich Nikolayev be relieved of the position of deputy chief editor of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA with effect from 13 October 1993.

"3. That the newspaper's new founder and the labor collective elect a chief editor and deputy chief editor for the newspaper.

"[Signed] First Deputy Minister D. Tsabriya"

Having discussed the situation, the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA journalists' collective unanimously decided to appeal the ministry's illegal orders in court.

In addition to direct bans and ultimatums from the Ministry of the Press and Information, we also received a Central Bank directive instructing us to discontinue operating our clearing account at the bank. Jumping ahead somewhat, let us note that on 13 December the Arbitration Court ruled this directive unlawful.

"Decision

"In the name of the Russian Federation, Sverdlovskiy Rayon People's Court in the city of Moscow comprising Court Chairman Judge N.D. Baburina and lay judges, together with the prosecutor and defense attorney and in the presence of Secretary T.N. Sakovich, did on 23 November 1993 examine in open court session civil case No. 2-1748/93 regarding the suit brought by the editorial office of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA against the Russian Federation Ministry of the Press and Information calling for the repeal of Order No. 183 dated 4 October 1993 in the part dealing with suspension of the newspaper's publication and distribution.

"The court session established that on 4 October 1993 the Russian Federation first deputy minister of the press and information promulgated Order No. 183 which, in execution of Edict No. 1578 of the Russian Federation president dated 4 October 1994 'On Immediate Measures To Ensure a State of Emergency Regime in the City of Moscow,' ordered the discontinuation of the publication and distribution of a number of publications including the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

"Under Point 8 of the Russian Federation president's Edict No. 1578 dated 4 October 1993 the Russian Federation Ministry of the Press and Information was to ensure implementation of the measures stipulated in Point 'b' of Article 23 of the Russian Federation Law 'On

a State of Emergency' with effect from 4 October 1993 for the duration of the state of emergency.

"Point 'b' of Article 23 of the Russian Federation Law 'On a State of Emergency' stipulates the introduction of the following measures: restriction of the freedom of the press and other mass media via the introduction of prior censorship; temporary seizure of press production facilities pending the repeal of the state of emergency; the temporary confiscation of technical sound-amplifying equipment and duplicating facilities. The Russian Federation Law 'On a State of Emergency' does not stipulate the right of the Ministry of the Press and Information to suspend the activity of the mass media. At the same time Article 16 of the Russian Federation Law 'On the Mass Media' stipulates that suspension of the activity of a constituent of the mass media can be effected only by decision of the founder or a court following a suit filed by the registering body. As is clear from the incorporating documents, the Russian Federation Ministry of the Press and Information is not a founder of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA; it is, on the other hand, the registering body. There has been no decision by a court regarding the suspension of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

"Moreover, the court notes that the order promulgated by the Ministry of the Press and Information 4 October 1993 violates the Russian Federation Law 'On a State of Emergency' and the Russian Federation president's Edicts No. 1578 dated 4 October 1993 and No. 1615 dated 9 October 1993 by essentially continuing to operate after the repeal of the state of emergency. As is clear from the documentation submitted, the bank is not resuming transactions involving the newspaper's accounts and the 'Pressa' Publishing House is not printing the newspaper, thereby inflicting material damage on the editorial office of the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA newspaper and its subscribers.

"On the basis of this exposition, and guided by Articles 191-197 of the RSFSR Code of Civil Procedure, the court has ruled:

"That Order No. 183 promulgated by the Ministry of the Press and Information 4 October 1993 in the part dealing with the suspension of publication and distribution of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA be deemed unlawful and be revoked.

"That the Russian Federation Ministry of the Press and Information should remove obstacles to the publication and distribution of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA."

The Sverdlovskiy Rayon People's Court has also revoked as unlawful the order relieving V.V. Chikin and Yu.N. Nikolayev of their respective positions.

And yesterday we received this latest directive.

"'Pressa' Publishing House

"Copy to SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Editorial Office

"In ensuring implementation of the decision by Sverdlovskiy Rayon People's Court in the city of Moscow dated 23 November 1993, you are requested to remove all obstacles to the publication and distribution of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA erected by the action of Russian Federation Ministry of the Press and Information Order No. 183 of 4 October 1993.

"[Signed] First Deputy Minister D.D. Tsubriya"

#### **New Antigovernment Weekly Published in Moscow**

*PM1512142993 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Dec 93 p 4*

[Unattributed report: "New Opposition Paper"]

[Text] A new weekly paper, RECH [Speech], has started coming out in Moscow. The new publication sets itself the main task of providing truthful, authentic information and countering the total lies of the progovernment press. The writers of the first two issues of RECH include T. Koryagina, S. Umalatova, S. Govorukhin, Ye. Kopyshchev, A. Prigarin, Yu. Slobodkin, I. Shashviashvili, and N. Shiyan.

#### **Economic & Military Issues**

##### **Yeltsin's Edict on Pensions Published**

*LD1512174293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Text] The Russian president's edict raising pensions, in accordance with the Law on State Pensions in the Russian Federation for citizens born before 31 December 1931, has been published. The publication is in response to numerous inquiries by citizens about the question of proving length of employment during the Great Patriotic War, which qualifies for a higher pension. Citizens in this category will receive their increased pension without having to produce proof of the time they worked. The decree will be submitted for consideration by the Russian Federation Federal Assembly.

##### **Soskovets Writes on Need for Foreign Investment**

*PM1512172193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 15 Dec 93*

[Oleg Soskovets article: "We Are Ready for Cooperation Based on Equal Rights. When Attracting Foreign Investments We Must Not Forget About Our Own Capabilities"—carried in the PROMYSHLENNAYA GAZETA section p 1]

[Text] No doubt Russia will find itself in acute need of attracting large volumes of Western capital in the next few years in order to solve problems involved in the structural restructuring of industry. At the same time, special attention will be paid to obtaining direct foreign investments.

The following figures alone speak of the potential scale of investments in the Russian economy. According to data from the Warburg Bank (Great Britain), our aluminum industry requires \$6.6 billion to attain world standards. In Sakhalin alone overall expenditure on the development of the Piltun-Astokhskoye oil deposit and the Lunskiy gas deposit is assessed at approximately \$10 billion. Russia's overall need of funds for the purchase of equipment for the oil and gas industry is assessed at \$17.5 billion.

Today foreign investments in various forms are in evidence in practically all Russian regions, but they are particularly vital in areas of the Far East and Far North. According to available figures, the number of enterprises with foreign participation in Maritime Kray will increase by a factor of 2-2.5 in the next few years. A dynamic growth in their number is noted in the Ural region and West Siberia (particularly in Tyumen and Tomsk Oblasts), in the north and northwest of the European part of Russia, the North Caucasus region (Krasnodar and Stavropol Krays), and the Volga region (Samara and Nizhniy Novgorod Oblasts).

To be fair, however, it must be noted that in 1993 no substantial shifts have occurred in the influx of foreign investments into the Russian economy, but a number of new trends have been outlined. Thus, there is a steady growth in the number of enterprises wholly owned by a foreign investor. The proportion of these in the total number of registered joint enterprises has reached almost 40 percent (19 percent in 1992). In terms of the number of joint enterprises created, mainly in the sphere of services and light industry, China holds the lead, followed by the United States, Germany, Great Britain, and Italy. Against the backdrop of a fall in industrial production in Russia, enterprises operating with foreign capital are increasing the production of output in the light industry sectors, and joint enterprises with the participation of U.S. and Canadian capital are increasing oil extraction.

However, by and large the volume of goods and services produced by these enterprises (and there are over 9,000 of them) comprised no more than 2 percent of the relevant all-Russia indicators. The total volume of foreign capital invested in the Russian economy is also negligible (a little over \$2 billion). The proportion of enterprises with foreign investments involved in Russia's exports comprises around 1.5 percent, in imports—around 2 percent, and in terms of the number of people employed—0.2 percent. According to Russian experts' assessments, there are around 200 companies among the enterprises operating successfully with foreign participation, but today they are performing a unique kind of demonstration role in the formation of the market infrastructure.

While once again emphasizing the great significance of foreign aid and foreign investments for Russia, I would like to note that the Russian Government intends to

combine most-favored-nation status in respect of foreign investors with an active scientific and technical policy.

It must not be forgotten for a moment that Russia's economy, despite its current difficult position, is the economy of a developed industrial power, that Russia needs to develop its own manufacturing industry, and that the dimensions of the economy, the specific conditions of production, and political factors are all rendering impossible the retooling of Russian industry exclusively by means of borrowing. In many spheres Russia possesses a sufficiently powerful scientific and production potential which can ensure technical progress by means of its own research and development.

In this connection I must call on Western countries for partnership, which has not yet become the norm of our mutual relations in the sphere of trade and economic cooperation. The following figures must be cited here. Russia's share of the uranium market is 5 percent, and that of the United States is 18 percent. If the United States were to concede to us only 8 percent of its share, then Russia could receive an extra \$20 billion. Only 0.1 percent of the world space market belongs to our country, while the volume of our sales on this market has amounted to \$5-6 billion. The expansion of our exports could reduce the burden of aid on Western countries, and the funds earned could be used to import equipment and technologies and to pay off the foreign debt. At the same time we understand, of course, that the trends of world trade testify to the exacerbation of the fight for markets, but the competition must be open.

We are counting on the fact that the basic principle of our mutual relations with Western countries in the economic sphere will be that of the equal technological dependence of partners involved in the international cooperation emerging from a situation of international scientific and technical collaboration. The principle of equal dependence also means the parity of the partners' potential loss in the event of the disruption of international technological ties for political reasons. The same principle is a guarantee of the uniform technological development of the participants in the international cooperation. Equal technological dependence also means the equality of economic conditions of international exchange which rule out the unjustified redistribution of the national income of the less developed partner to the advantage of the more developed one.

In ending this discourse on the importance of foreign investments in solving priority tasks in the development of the domestic economy, I would like to stress once again that the Russian Government will adopt all possible measures to ensure that the mechanism of international cooperation operates more productively. But in the final analysis, the revival of the economy and the improvement of our lives will depend only on the labor and enterprise of millions of Russians.



### **Curtailment of Oil Exports Amid Market 'Collapse' Urged**

*PM1512132193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Dec 93 First Edition p 3*

[Article by Elmar Guseynov: "Oil Exporters' War Rending Russia"]

[Text] The collapse of the oil market, whose approach could only be surmised a couple of weeks ago, has arrived. On the biggest exchanges the cost of a barrel of liquid fuel is now about \$13.5 instead of \$20 at the start of the year. In real prices that is even lower than 20 years ago, before the first "oil shock."

Outwardly one of the main reasons for the fall in prices remains the OPEC internal crisis. "OPEC cannot defend others. Others must help OPEC retain the prices level"—that was how OPEC Conference President 'Abdallah al-'Atiyah formulated the oil exporters' position during a meeting of oil ministers of the Arab OPEC countries.

Meanwhile the situation on the oil market is increasingly reminiscent of an action-packed detective story with an increasing number of characters as the story develops. Today one can confidently speak of a real oil war whose participants are, on the one hand, Norway and Britain, which are extracting in the North Sea, and on the other Saudi Arabia and the other Arab countries.

Against the background of the horrific losses from the reduction in prices the leading producers from the Arab countries are not only accelerating oil extraction but are also increasing its sale from old stocks, including from tankers which have been drifting in the Gulf of Mexico for months as floating depots.

Britain and Norway are doing exactly the same.

It must be said that the actions of a number of Persian Gulf Arab countries are less and less to the liking of the other OPEC exporters, for whom all this could simply be too expensive. Perhaps that is why in recent days there has been discussion of the possibility of creating a purely Arab OPEC which would not include members like Iran—the Saudis' eternal enemy—or Venezuela, Indonesia, and Gabon.

If that happens the market will be seriously destroyed, and for a long time. Oil production without the restraining framework of quotas could freeze for a long time at its present level the world price for liquid fuel, which is close to the profitability margin. In this situation it is in Russia's interests to continue to curtail the export of its own energy carriers, which are now being sold 30-40 percent more cheaply than at the start of the year.

Over the first nine months of 1993 Russia sold 97 million tonnes of oil and oil products compared with the 72 million tonnes sold over the same period of 1992. But we received \$200 million less for these energy carriers than we did last year. As a whole Russia's direct losses

from the reduction in oil prices over the first three quarters of the year roughly total at least \$3.5 billion.

Foreign oil exporters and consumers must sort out their relations on the market for themselves, without our participation. There is no point in Russia incurring losses from other people's games.

### **Commercial Banks To Sell Hard Currency on Behalf of State**

*PM1512170193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Dec 93 First Edition p 3*

["Own Information" report: "It Seems That Commercial Banks Will Also Engage in Currency Intervention"]

[Text] We have learned that in the next few days the Russian Finance Ministry intends to enlist commercial banks in carrying out operations to sell central hard currency resources in the charge of the federal government. At present these operations are performed by the Central Bank. Commercial banks will be selected by tender. The choice will be made from banks which have licenses to conduct hard currency operations, a hard currency balance of at least 300 billion rubles, and developed correspondent relations in Russia and with foreign banks which will guarantee minimum timeframes for hard currency exchange with a commission of no more than 0.1 percent.

The commission will decide on the results of the competitive tendering in December 1993.

In order to enhance responsibility for carrying out operations involving state hard currency resources the banks carrying out these operations for the Russian Finance Ministry must form a consortium. In the opinion of the Finance Ministry, commercial banks' exchange of hard currency resources in the charge of the federal government will make it possible to activate market mechanisms without inflationary consequences and will eliminate monopolism in establishing the ruble's exchange rate against foreign currency.

### **Unemployment Figures Show Social Tensions 'Abating'**

*PM1512104993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Dec 93 First Edition p 3*

[Text] The social temperature, like the political one, is liable to fluctuate. Now, thank God, the fever is abating. Not too palpably, but noticeably to the naked eye. At any rate, this is the belief of those who keep their finger on the pulse of social policy. Let the reader say whether or not our authors are right after taking a look at the tables cited here.

### **The Changing Strain on Russia's Labor Market in 1993 [subhead]**

Compared with the start of the year (first column), by October (second column) the number of unemployed per

vacancy had fallen somewhat.

|                             |      |      |
|-----------------------------|------|------|
| 1. Russian Federation       | 1.01 | 1.10 |
| 2. Northern Region          | 1.8  | 1.4  |
| 3. Northwestern Region      | 6.2  | 1.5  |
| 4. Central Region           | 1.2  | 1.1  |
| 5. Volga-Vyatka Region      | 5.4  | 2.8  |
| 6. Central Chernozem Region | 1.4  | 1.0  |
| 7. Volga Region             | 1.7  | 1.0  |
| 8. North Caucasus Region    | 2.8  | 2.1  |
| 9. Ural Region              | 2.4  | 2.0  |
| 10. West Siberian Region    | 1.3  | 1.1  |
| 11. East Siberian Region    | 0.9  | 1.2  |
| 12. Far Eastern Region      | 1.0  | 0.8  |
| 13. Kaliningrad Oblast      | 3.4  | 2.8  |

#### The Changing Level of Unemployment in the Russian Federation in 1993

The ratio between the number of unemployed and the size of the able-bodied population (in percentages) increased somewhat during the same period.

|                             |     |     |
|-----------------------------|-----|-----|
| 1. Russian Federation       | 0.7 | 0.9 |
| 2. Northern Region          | 1.1 | 1.4 |
| 3. Northwestern Region      | 1.4 | 1.3 |
| 4. Central Region           | 0.8 | 1.0 |
| 5. Volga-Vyatka Region      | 1.2 | 1.6 |
| 6. Central Chernozem Region | 0.5 | 0.5 |
| 7. Volga Region             | 0.4 | 0.6 |
| 8. North Caucasus Region    | 0.6 | 0.9 |
| 9. Ural Region              | 0.7 | 0.8 |
| 10. West Siberian Region    | 0.5 | 0.6 |
| 11. East Siberian Region    | 0.3 | 0.5 |
| 12. Far Eastern Region      | 0.5 | 0.6 |
| 13. Kaliningrad Oblast      | 1.1 | 1.4 |

#### Consumer Price Inflation Around Country Detailed

PM1512111793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by Svetlana Ulanova of the Russian Government's Center for Economic Conditions: "Minimal Price Increases Ahead of Elections"]

[Text] The overall inflation index (according to up-to-the-minute figures) was 102.9 percent 30 November through 7 December, an increase of 8.3 times since the beginning of the year.

The increase in prices and rates for paid consumer services was once again higher than the change for foods and nonfood goods. The average cost of a basket of 19 essential foodstuffs was 28,800 rubles [R] for the month, an increase of 4 percent on a week ago.

In the past week inflation was 2.9 percent, somewhat above the level for the last week in November but still one of the lowest figures for the year. Nonfood commodities increased in price least in the first week of December at 2.5 percent. Over the week the price of food rose 2.9 percent, while the cost of paid consumer services increased 5.4 percent.

Over the week the rate of inflation did not vary significantly among Russia's individual economic regions. The highest level of inflation last week was recorded in the East Siberian and Volga regions—4.4 and 4.3 percent respectively—where prices and rates for paid consumer services increased the most over the week—by 10 and 12 percent respectively. At the same time the rate of inflation in the Central and Ural regions did not top 2 percent over the week.

In Moscow and St. Petersburg the weekly inflation figure was once again lower than the Russian average at just over 2 percent.

The price of dairy produce and eggs rose more than other foods 30 November through 7 December, by 6.2 and 6.6 percent respectively. The price of animal fats and vegetables was up 5 percent on a week ago, while that of bread products and fruit was up 4 percent. However, over the week the price of meat products, sugar, and vodka increased 1 percent or less. It must be noted that for virtually two months now the price of meat products and sugar has not risen by more than 1 or 2 percent a week.

As of 7 December the average cost of the basket of basic foods was R28,800 a month, up 4 percent on the previous week and 6.6 times higher than last December. This range of goods cost R27,700 rubles at organized trading outlet prices and R37,500 at nonorganized trading outlet prices. The ratio between the cost of the goods at nonorganized and at organized trading outlet prices increased to 1.4:1 (a week ago the figure was 1.3:1).

The difference between the maximum and minimum cost of the basket of goods in various cities in Russia continued to be fairly sizeable at 270 percent last week.

The Volga region is still seen to be the region with the greatest intraregional differentiation in the cost of the basket of goods—with the cost varying by a factor of 2.6.

The price of the basket of goods increased most in the West Siberian Region —6.8 percent—where the cost rose by 11.4 percent in Barnaul, for instance, as a result of an increase in the prices of the most important foodstuffs.

Over the week the cost of the 19 most important foodstuffs increased by 2.1 percent in Moscow to total R33,200 as of 7 December. Over the past week there was virtually no increase in the price of the goods in St. Petersburg at R27,200 rubles. Moscow and St. Petersburg are respectively 32d and 64th on the list of surveyed cities.

#### **Chernomyrdin Team's Economic Performance Assessed**

*PM1512142893 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 14 Dec 93 p 3*

[Yuriy Rytov article: "Viktor Chernomyrdin: A Year in Power"]

[Text] What a coincidence: Viktor Chernomyrdin marks his first anniversary in the job of Council of Ministers chairman on 14 December—two days after the elections to the Federal Assembly. And there can be no doubt that this circumstance will give a special piquancy to the inevitable analyses that parliamentarians will make of the activity of the Cabinet he heads. The multifarious composition of the new parliament suggests that the assessments will be very severe, because the members of the State Duma will most likely conduct their debate with the Cabinet on reforms from the viewpoint of the man in the street.

#### **Four Reasons To Be Annoyed**

Let me remind you that in the 25 April referendum the course of economic reforms received the support of more than 36 million people who took part in the vote. More than 30 million people who voted did not give it their support. And over 38 million citizens did not exercise their right to vote.

So although officially the course of reforms was approved, it must be observed that a significant proportion of the population takes a negative or at least apathetic view of it. What is this all about?

Reason one. "Shock therapy" undeniably dealt a painful blow to the living standards of millions of people. According to official figures, the number of the population with incomes below the minimum necessary for physical survival is 9 million (6 percent). In all, nearly one-third of the population is below the poverty line:

Their incomes do not provide for an acceptable minimum of consumption. And additional compensatory payments to pensioners, students, and workers in the budget-funded sphere have lagged behind the inflation rate.

Reason two. The social stratification of society has intensified sharply. The difference in per capita incomes between the richest 10 percent and the poorest 10 percent of the population is more than tenfold, while the richest 20 percent has 43 percent of all monetary income.

The symbols of success are luxurious Mercedes cars, multistory out-of-town houses, and cruises to exotic countries. In the context of a general decline in production, it is quite obvious that the source of such success lies in the sphere of circulation ("buying and selling") and is often speculative in nature.

Of course, this stratification does not by any means promote social harmony. And not many people will be reassured by the optimistic conclusions of certain economists: This year, they say, the population's real income will increase by up to 10 percent. Yes, it will, but whose income? Once again these reassuring predictions, "on average and on the whole...."

Reason three. The level of debt in transactions between enterprises and the federal budget deficit led to regular and ubiquitous delays in the payment of wages. Naturally, even people with very respectable incomes deplore that kind of life. The recent miners' disturbances are irrefutable evidence of this.

And finally, reason four. Willingly or otherwise, a significant proportion of the population have found themselves cut off from practical participation in the reforms (unless by reforms you mean street trading). First and foremost, the nature and purpose of the reforms were presented to the "broad masses"—as they used to say in the old days—in the most general terms. While the experts, in their laborious disputations, flaunted newly fashionable terms like "marketing," the "broad masses" only saw the hackneyed neo-bolshevist slogan: "Factories to the workers, land to the peasants." Nobody was able (or willing) to explain intelligibly what specifically the ordinary worker or ordinary peasant was supposed to get out of the reforms.

Enterprising cooperative members rapidly mastered the art of marketing, renaming their offices small enterprises and limited-liability companies. The lot of the vast majority of the population remained unchanged: hired labor. Open your own business? But how, when ordinary people's modest savings were immediately wiped out by inflation?

In short, the social base of the reforms proved to be very rickety and their social orientations extremely vague.

Nor did the subsequent steps bring reassurance to ordinary people. Decisions on property reform, while correct



in principle, were not backed up by an efficient mechanism for implementing them. Let us look at privatization, for instance. In the first stage it received, not without reason, the scathing nickname "piratization." Later, with the conversion of enterprises to share ownership, the change in forms of ownership was purely formalistic. The owner changed, but there was no influx of capital from outside, no restructuring of production, no updating of the product mix. The result was the continuing rise in prices and the decline in the production of output for which there is no demand due to the high prices. And soon the shareholders will demand payment of dividends—what then?

And we knew that the blunders in the course of reforms were being skillfully exploited in the election campaign by oppositionists of every hue, appealing to the feelings of the ordinary person (which is to say, the voter).

#### **The Monetarists March in Step, But the Economic Generals Demand Subsidies**

How we love to label people! We are used to saying of Chernomyrdin: an experienced production man, a pragmatist. Period. Yet this characterization is far from complete. In my view, Viktor Chernomyrdin has shown himself first and foremost to be an unassuming, but complete politician who has quickly mastered the mysteries and secrets of political life. Look at just one simple little decision on his part—to refuse to participate in the election race in which many of his colleagues became involved!

To stay outside politics is also big politics.

By rising above all parties and blocs, he made it clear that he intends to continue to head the government.

And everyone knows that an experienced politician is always a master of compromise. Here too Chernomyrdin has shown his paces, scaling the heights of compromise, particularly in the first days of his premiership: compromise with himself. Remember his famous decree on limiting the level of profitability. Many economists promptly assessed this as clear backtracking on the reformist course. But the decree existed for only a few days, and was rescinded by Chernomyrdin himself. It is hard to imagine there was pressure from elsewhere: Gaydar was not in the government at that time, and Fedorov's position had long been known to the premier.

And then there was the skillful maneuvering between the radical economists (Fedorov, Chubays) and the traditionalists (Oleg Lobov) who were trying to revive the Gosplan [State Planning Commission], trample all the other ministries underfoot, and revive administrative methods of regulating the economy. The premier watched patiently as far-reaching plans were nurtured deep inside the Ministry of the Economy. When the plans had been taken to absurd extremes, only then did the logical conclusion come: Yegor Gaydar was put in charge of the Ministry of the Economy.

But even that did not mean that the Cabinet was under the undivided sway of "pure" marketeers. They were counterbalanced by production men: Oleg Soskovets and Aleksandr Zaveryukha, with the economic generals behind them. The result: The monetarist course of reforms was maintained, but with selective sops from budget funds and credits for a number of sectors and individual enterprises (the fuel and energy complex, defense sectors, processing of agricultural products, transportation, housing construction). Suffice it to say that in just the first nine months of this year 7 trillion rubles [R] was allocated for targeted credit to specific sectors. Of this, R2.5 trillion went to the agro-industrial complex, R1.8 trillion to pay for early delivery of goods to regions of the Far North, R0.85 trillion for the urgent needs of the regions, and R0.26 trillion to the fuel and energy complex.

Apart from everything else, the Chernomyrdin government came under strong pressure from lobbyists in the former Supreme Soviet. Fortunately, their proposed version of the budget, approximately R10 trillion in excess of the government's, was not adopted.

However, it is not state subsidies which define the shape of our economy today. The process of forming market relations is—albeit slowly, ponderously, and with imbalances—under way.

#### **The Economy: It's an Ill Wind**

We have tried to look at the reforms through ordinary people's eyes. And now let us try to assess them from the experts' viewpoint.

True, the decline in production is continuing. According to a preliminary estimate, GDP this year will be about 90 percent of last year's, while industrial output will be about 84 percent of last year's.

However, it is, as the saying goes, an ill wind that blows no good. At the moment the determining factor in the production decline is limitations on demand. Since prices for the majority of types of output are now close to world prices (with the exception of energy sources), nobody wants to buy poor quality, expensive products any more: It is preferable to import them. And that is forcing enterprises to engage in a fundamental restructuring.

Take, for instance, the situation in our light industry, where the fall in production is most significant. Many enterprises in this sector were so inefficient that the total value of output was less than the value of the resources spent on production. Who needs enterprises like that?

Or take another example. The so-called production of the means of production is also declining in our country: machine tools for the production of machine tools, the metal for machine tools to make machine tools, the energy to smelt that metal, and so forth. Conversely, civil machine building and the food industry are accounting

for an increasing share of the national economic structure. Strengthening market mechanisms are erecting a barrier in the path of anything that has nothing to do with meeting people's needs. Industry for industry's sake—our unique achievement—is slowly and reluctantly giving way to production for people.

So our country is really going over to market relations and the outlines of Russia's new economy are taking shape.

This is manifested, in particular, in the fact that the nonstate sector of the economy is beginning to play an increasing role. This sector now directly employs more than 30 million people (42 percent of all those in employment). And if you count their families, more than 60 million people associate their own well-being with nonstate structures. And the majority of state enterprises and *kolkhozes*, as a result of the rejection of direct administrative control, have also been forced to adapt to market conditions.

As has already been noted, scope is opening up for the operation of the law of supply and demand, because at federal level all unjustified restrictions on pricing have in effect been removed. The single ruble rate, defined on the currency market, ensures the ruble's convertibility for current transactions.

What else? For all its defects, privatization is continuing. Naturally, it has not yet led to the formation of a "middle class," which forms the basis of any civilized state. But the formation of a capital market is not far off and the movement and concentration of shares will take place, after which we will see the emergence of a stable class of property owners who really do own the factories and the land.

But all these are underlying, macroeconomic processes, the reader may say. When will there be changes for the better in our daily life?

The answer to that last question is extremely simple. There will be changes for the better in our daily life when inflation is curbed.

#### Stop Inflation!

According to the Center for the Current Economic Situation under the Council of Ministers—Government of the Russian Federation, the inflation index in November was 117 percent, or 800 percent from the beginning of the year. Depressing figures! First, as has already been said, all kinds of social payments and the wages of workers in the budget-funded sphere are devalued. Second, investment activity is reduced (or stops completely). After all, the commercial banks issue loans at annual interest rates of 230 percent or more. What is the point of investing funds in long-term projects?

The reasons for the high inflation are obvious. They lie in the enormous credit loans already mentioned. They lie

in the colossal republic budget deficit (approximately R17 trillion). So the means to cure this disease are also known. Yes, it is quite true: We must drastically reduce the budget deficit and the credits that are issued at the cost of ruble emissions.

The Chernomyrdin government envisages these measures for next year. It is planned consistently to reduce all forms of subsidies in the production sphere and to reduce the federal budget deficit to not more than 5 percent of GDP. This in turn will make it possible, by the end of the year, to stop using emissions to finance the budget deficit and to go over to forming the budget on the basis of sound sources, both domestic (state treasury bonds, gold bonds) and foreign.

It is also planned consistently to reduce the rate of growth of the money supply. This rate will be reduced from 10 percent at the beginning of 1994 to 3 percent per month at the end of the year. This will make it possible to maintain relatively stable rates of devaluation of the ruble against the dollar, in excess of half the rate of inflation. Cheaper imports and the consequent strengthening of price competitiveness will also be used to curb inflation. There are guidelines here too: 15 percent a month at the beginning of 1994, 5 percent a month by the end of the year.

We can draw the following conclusion from these plans. The government is not promising us an easy life next year. True, there will be no repetition of the "shock therapy." The system of compensatory social payments has already been formulated quite clearly, and is capable of alleviating the lot of the poorly off to a far greater extent than before.

All the indications are that real stabilization of the economy and of people's living standard will begin in 1995. We will be rid of the worst tax—inflation. There will be a real possibility of guaranteeing all poorly off citizens a minimum subsistence income. And for the better off citizens there will be the opportunity to accumulate savings quietly and to invest them in business. In other words, the formation of a "middle class" will begin, and that is one of the main aims of the reforms.

In the production sphere, the reduction in production will inevitably lead to the growth of investment activity, modernization of enterprises and updating of output, and increasingly broad penetration of the world market by our country's economy.

I think the prospect is quite optimistic—but on one condition: that the Federal Assembly supports the government's actions and that confrontation does not spring up again between the two branches of power.

#### Status of Some 'Special-Risk' Troops Recognized

PM1612105593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in  
Russian 15 Dec 93 p 1

[Lieutenant Sergey Vasilyev report under "Yesterday" rubric: "Submariners in Special Risk Category"]

[Text] Severomorsk, 14 Dec—The first 130 people in the Northern Fleet have received their documents as veterans of special-risk subunits. This covers only one-third of those who in the summer and fall of 1989 participated in operations to deal with the accident on an "Echo-2" class nuclear-powered submarine. On 26 July it suffered a rupture of the water-cooling system in its reactor's primary circuit. The submarine was saved but some of the crew received increased radiation doses.

It has taken four years to get this fact officially recognized and to put the submariners who participated in operations to deal with the accident in the same category as the "Chernobyl people" as regards privileges. The actual number of people in the Navy who have participated in operations to deal with accidents at facilities with nuclear power units is much higher.

### Regional Affairs

#### Chechen Figure Calls on Yeltsin To Resume Talks

LD1512173793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1217  
GMT 15 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy December 15 TASS—Head of the Chechen government of popular trust Yaragi Mamodayev called on Russian President Boris Yeltsin to resume talks between Russia and the Chechen Republic.

The text of the appeal to the Russian president delivered to the ITAR-TASS office in Groznyy says that authorities and citizens of the republic are concerned about the renewed tension in and around Chechnya.

"The Chechen Republic is gradually turning into a zone of disaster and catastrophe, which cannot but influence the situation in the entire region," the appeal says.

Yaragi Mamodayev believes that an equal dialogue between Moscow and Groznyy could resolve many problems in political and economic relations and facilitate the settlement of differences.

For its part, the government of the Chechen Republic, as the only legitimate body of power in Chechnya is ready to "return to the question about provisional forms and boundaries of the sovereignty of the Chechen state in order to look for formulas of relationship acceptable to both countries".

The appeal came after the Chechen Republic refused to take part in the December 12 elections to the parliament of the Russian Federation, insisting that it is a completely sovereign, independent state and not part of the federation.

#### Tuva Parliament Vested With Broad Powers

LD1612094793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0753  
GMT 16 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yevgeny Sobetsky]

[Text] Kyzyl, December 16 (TASS)—From now on, the Supreme Hural will be the top representative authority of the Republic of Tuva. It was elected on December 12 simultaneously with the Election of Deputies of the Russian Federal Assembly. The new parliament is made up of 32 deputies, who will work there on a full-time basis for four years. Five seats belong to two electoral blocs—the People's Party of Sovereign Tuva and the Republican Organisation of Communists. In accordance with the number of votes, the People's Party of Sovereign Tuva has three seats and the Communists have two. The rest of the deputies represent one-seat constituencies.

The Supreme Hural will function on the basis of the republican constitution, adopted by the former supreme soviet on October 21 and approved at the republican referendum last Sunday. The new parliament has wide powers: It can make decisions on about all aspects of Tuva's life, including problems of war and peace, the borders, the suspension of legislative acts and government resolutions of the Russian Federation, "if they go beyond the problems they cover and the powers, envisaged by the constitution of the Russian Federation, the federal treaty or other agreements."

Most of the new deputies are office workers (there are 16 of them). Two are professional lawyers, three are directors of state farms, one is the president of an agent firm. There is a journalist, a medic, two educational workers and even one unemployed in the hural.

#### North Ossetia Begins Presidential Election Campaign

LD1512185593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1236  
GMT 15 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valery Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz December 15 TASS—The Central Electoral Commission of North Ossetia held its first meeting today to launch an electoral campaign towards the elections of the republic's new president, scheduled for January 16, 1994.

The Central Electoral Commission is now receiving required papers from would-be contestants of the presidential post in this North Caucasian republic.

Among those who wants to run for the republic's highest office are Parliament Chairman Akhsarbek Galazov and Prime Minister Sergey Khetagurov. Both were recently elected to the Federation Council, the upper chamber of the new, post-Soviet legislature of the Russian Federation.



**Yeltsin Edict on Refugees Increases Tension in North Ossetia**

*LD1512220893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1547 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz December 15 TASS—The operative situation in the emergency state zone in North Ossetia after making public the Russian president's decree "On the order of the return of refugees and forced settlers to places of their permanent residence on the territories of the Republics of North Ossetia and Ingushetia" remains complex, according to military sources.

Inhabitants of populated localities in the Prigorodnyy district—the center of the armed Ossetian-Ingush conflict—gather at spontaneous meetings at which they express their disagreement with an attempt of the immediate return of people of the Ingush nationality, and urge to leave these residential areas.

No conflict situations on inter-ethnic grounds in this region were reported for the past twenty-four hours. Units of the Russian Army attached to the provisional administration, together with local law enforcement bodies are fully controlling the situation in the area, a military source told ITAR-TASS.

### International Affairs

#### Yeltsin Remarks on Nuclear Weapons Criticized

LD1612072293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0704  
GMT 16 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow December 16 TASS— Ukraine negatively reacted to the Wednesday statement of President Boris Yeltsin who, when meeting US Vice-President Albert Gore, criticised official Kiev for attempts to preserve nuclear weapons which it had inherited from the former USSR.

The official UKRINFORM agency wired a statement of the spokesman of the Ukrainian president who believes news agencies had distorted Yeltsin's pronouncements.

"It is hard to imagine that the president of Russia, who is well aware of the Ukrainian intention to get a nuclear free status in future and of the position of the Ukrainian president on the issue, could have used the words reported by journalists while characterising the policy of the friendly state", the spokesman said.

#### Kravchuk, Moldova's Snegur Hold News Conference

WS1512143093 Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya  
Network in Ukrainian 1946 GMT 14 Dec 93

[News conference of President Leonid Kravchuk and Moldovan President Mircea Snegur on results of Snegur's visit to Ukraine, in Kiev on 14 December—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Kravchuk] [passage omitted] I would like to say that Ukraine supported, supports, and will continue to support the state unity of Moldova. This is a matter of principle. It is the concern of the Moldovan people to resolve their internal affairs regarding the status of their regions, including the Transdnister. However, we are for oneness, for unity of the state, for its sovereignty, and for its independent development. We have declared it previously, and we declare it today—Ukraine will follow such a policy. If some difficulties arise, and Moldova will find it expedient to ask Ukraine for support, we are ready to be a mediator in any questions, following international norms and international documents, and analyzing the situation of accord in interaction with the state. [passage omitted]

[Boris Rzhevskiy, Moldovan National Television] I have two questions to the Moldovan and Ukrainian presidents. First, could you delineate priority provisions of the treaty for 1994? The second question concerns your attitude toward the preliminary results of the elections in Russia.

[Snegur] I believe that all the aspects of relations between Ukraine and Moldova are of a priority nature, both economically and politically. The economic aspect,

undoubtedly, prevailed. Principal import and export figures for 1994 were specified and the prime ministers signed an agreement on this issue. I think that the issues of Moldova's property on Ukrainian territory and Ukraine's property on Moldovan territory are equally important. We are fully satisfied with the mutual understanding that we achieved on this issue, including the protection of property and the forming of joint-stock enterprises. We have blueprinted a draft for eliminating these problems and appropriate departments signed an agreement. Ukraine's stance on regulating the armed conflict in the Transdnister area should also be regarded as a priority issue. The more so that tension in that area is being built up by [words indistinct] who do not agree to draw our stances on this issue closer to one another, regardless of the fact that we have reviewed the standpoint that we took a year ago. We suggest that a special legal status be granted to that sector of our Republic based on the principles of maximum local self-rule. We are ready to review the language situation that has developed in that region, taking into account existing realities. We have declared our readiness to agree to the activities of some legislative assembly in that region that would be entitled to draft and adopt local laws. Unfortunately, local leaders seem not to understand the changing situation, and one gets the impression that they are ready to reject all these proposals just to be able to call the Transdnister area a sovereign independent state and a member of the artificial Moldovan confederation. Thus, I am going back to my initial postulate that the stance of Ukraine, our great eastern neighbor, is very valuable to us. Many aspects of our lives have intertwined in the course of history and we have things to discuss. It is enough to mention that Moldovan railroads in many places stretch across Ukrainian soil. Problems do exist. When we lived in the former Soviet Union and were told what to do and carried out orders, there were no problems. Today, after our states won independence, these issues emerged.

In fact, I was asked the second question at the airport yesterday when the results of the elections were not exactly known, although even today, we only know preliminary results. Of course, regarding the Russian elections, I believe that they made Russia and the other states think, because the results... Leonid Makarovich will tell you that we discussed these issues yesterday and we have not discussed them since. I think that these results were unexpected for me, to say the least. I want to say that this was a signal for democratic forces, I mean for my Republic in the first place. Any turn is possible in the domestic policy when dangerous trends are underestimated, and the Russian elections proved this. Perhaps, we should draw conclusions. I do not think that I can give a more detailed analysis at the moment. We will see how events develop in Russia and we should be careful, the more so that we are also on the eve of early parliamentary elections scheduled for 27 February in Moldova and for 27 March in Ukraine. There are forces trying to ban presidents from participation in elections. Some factions are already voicing demands that the

president remain neutral and refrain from making statements. How can this be done if there are provocations and insults. The president cannot keep silent, because later, he will have to cooperate with the legislature. I want you to understand me correctly, but leaving these processes unattended.... Our state has the most democratic electoral system and people should be helped to comprehend it. Voting will be conducted solely through party lists. The law also envisions independent candidates, but this is far from being the majority system. I think that people should have the difference between the former situation when there was one candidate on the list and the current one when we have perhaps, ten electoral blocs explained. I think that a more in-depth analysis of the results of the Russian elections could be provided later.

[Kravchuk] I share President Snegur's standpoint both regarding priorities, as well as the second problem. I can only add that final assessments and declarations can only be made after the Russian National Assembly convenes its first session and adopts certain declarations and resolutions. We can react to decisions made by a state body. In this case, we are dealing with electoral competition and electoral platforms of political parties and political forces. Thus, I cannot and I do not want to analyze these platforms because every party has a right to voice its political arguments and programs. But speaking frankly, there is anxiety not so much for Ukraine, but, forgive me my arrogance, for Russia. I told you many times that I was in a very favorable political situation because democracy and sovereignty were initiated by Russia, by Boris Yeltsin, and other democratic forces. You remember that the first declaration on independence was adopted by Russia, and so were democratic laws including the one on presidential elections. Other newly independent states took up the torch from Russia and adopted Russia's experience. In 1991, when the issue of the further development of states was being resolved, Russia unequivocally decided that it will develop according to democratic principles. Of course, I am worried. When six million electors cast their votes in favor of a great inseparable Russia within its pre-1917 borders during presidential elections, I was worried then. Today, this anxiety is greater. The idea of straightforward revanchism was brought forward and this fact should not be concealed. However, I hope that Russia's power, its president, and all forces will stand up to protect democracy, and will not allow the ideas of revanchism to develop into a state concept. This can be a political trend of a certain group, but if it develops into a state concept, then I can state with full responsibility that this will be the beginning of a great [words indistinct] in Europe, involving partitions and repartitions. At this stage, I regard this just as populism and a political platform. However, the fact that so many people voted for this idea is alarming, as well as the fact that so many people would like to restore the czarist empire. This is what greatly worries me. I want to emphasize again that I believe in the Russian Democratic forces' victory over this temporary political trend, this deviation from the

line declared by Russia, a deviation caused by a difficult economic situation. Everybody is using this situation for demagoguery, including political leaders.

[Oksana Boyko, Kiev VECHIRNIY KYIV] I have a question for both presidents. Esteemed Leonid Makarovych, could you explain the economic reasons behind your dissatisfaction with the Supreme Council ratification of the START I treaty.

Now, a question for Mister Snegur. What is Moldova's position on the issue of nuclear weapons deployed on Ukrainian territory?

[Kravchuk] The point is that we cannot discuss this issue. I have not done so and I will not, from a perspective of economic justification. The point is that I support—I cannot recall the Russian equivalent of this word—the stipulations of the economic aspects. I admit that the weapons deployed in Ukraine are valuable, and that this is Ukraine's property, and that they should be dismantled and transferred, but in exchange for appropriate compensation. This is my position, and it will remain so. However, I believe that those two issues do not contradict each other. This should not be tied to a delay in signing the nonproliferation treaty, or the agreement signed by the former Soviet Union. We have had to clearly define our position. The stipulations regarding economic, technical, and financial aspects, including security guarantees to Ukraine, should be defined, but signed in a separate package. This is my position on the economic aspects of this issue. From a political viewpoint, Ukraine has declared its nonnuclear status, and there is no alternative to this. If [words indistinct] believes that those weapons can be somehow used, he is wrong. They cannot be used due to two factors: the incapability to do so, and political purposelessness. The firm position of the Ukrainian president, the appropriate authorities, and, I hope, the majority of people's deputies is that we should not enter on this dangerous path. However, we should find suitable mechanisms for this process. Today, I repeatedly state that we are already prepared to take the first steps in solving these questions, but not by putting aside the economic problems of this issue.

[Snegur] We, on the other hand, assume that Ukraine, according to its leadership's statements... We have discussed this issue [words indistinct]. Ukraine intends to become a nonnuclear state, and we welcome this. [passage indistinct] I believe that there have been problems in relations between the executive and legislative authorities. Such problems will undoubtedly be solved, and I repeat that it is very important to us that Ukraine endeavors to become a nonnuclear state, and we fully support and welcome such a position.

[Levytska, the press service of the Congress of Democratic Forces of Ukraine] I have two questions for both presidents. The question for the Moldovan President: In your speech, you mentioned the case of the Ilasko group



from Tiraspol. What is the Moldovan leadership going to do to free them? Have any international, legal organizations engaged in this case?

And now, the question for the Ukrainian President: We have a problem with the Crimea, similar to Moldova's with the Transdnister region. The Crimea is preparing for presidential elections. However, this violates the Ukrainian Constitution. How will the government and the president react? [passage omitted]

[Kravchuk] I would not like to compare the Transdnister region with the Crimea. Our Constitution defines the Crimea as a republic. So, the issue is not the status of the Crimea. The Crimea is an autonomous republic. This is defined by our Constitution. Additionally, the Supreme Council has adopted a legislation on dividing powers between Ukraine and the Crimea. [passage indistinct] The point is not to elect a Crimean president, but to define the status of the presidential office. For example, Russia has not one but many presidents, but this is defined by constitutions of numerous republics. However, if presidential status transgress the legislative, constitutional, and other borders, it should be defined by legislative foundations. But, we have not heard that the Crimean president is to receive powers that would transgress the powers of the Ukrainian president. Steps that are not provided by the legislation on dividing powers must not be made. If such steps are made, the Ukrainian president, the Supreme Council, and other authorities will undertake appropriate measures. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent, Ukrainian Television] I have a question for both presidents. Have you discussed Ukraine's and Moldova's joint activities in their participation in international structures, including the CIS?

[Snegur] We have expressed our satisfaction with the fact that Ukraine and Moldova support one another in the CSCE and the United Nations [words indistinct]. I would like to thank Leonid Kravchuk and Anatoliy Zlenko for their support at the Rome CSCE conference, at which completely new resolutions on Moldova's issues were adopted, for example a new resolution on the issue of Russian troops withdrawal. This time, it was decided to resolve this issue without any stipulations. Ukraine played an important role in this. We have agreed to cooperate and support one another.

#### Ministry on START Talks With U.S.

LD1512194793 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1440 GMT  
15 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev—President Leonid Kravchuk met William Miller, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United States to Ukraine, at his request in the evening of 14 December. According to official information, aspects of bilateral relations were discussed, and so was further economic cooperation regarding implementation of the instructions of the Supreme Council of Ukraine on ratification of the START I Treaty.

To a question from an UNIAN correspondent, Viktor Stelmakh, press secretary of the president of Ukraine, replied, that "the meeting was of an essentially confidential nature and not a single agreement was signed." The US Embassy in Ukraine refused a request to comment on the results of this conversation, referring to a lack of authority on the part of the embassy's leadership.

Anton Buteyko, head of the service of the president of Ukraine on international issues, who was present at the talks, explained that the meeting had been brought about by the telephone conversation between Leonid Kravchuk and [US President] Bill Clinton regarding ratification of the START I Treaty. William Miller and Leonid Kravchuk discussed the course of implementation of accords on the matter of nuclear disarmament and ways of improving economic cooperation and exchanged opinions on a wide range of issues. The US ambassador reported on America's attitude to the ratification of the START I Treaty.

The diplomatic circles of the world are noting the equivocal reaction of the American leadership to Ukraine's attitude to nuclear disarmament. In particular, commenting on the talks of US Vice-President Albert Gore in Kyrgyzstan, US information agencies are stressing that Kazakhstan and Belarus recently ratified the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Western commentators are venturing the opinion that [a visit] to Kiev is not envisaged among the planned visits of the US President and Vice-President for the near future namely because Ukraine's stance is different from the Belarusian and Kazakh stance. They have a calmer attitude to this matter at the Ukraine Ministry of Foreign Affairs. One of the employees of the foreign policy department commented, "This is normal diplomatic practice, acceptable in all states. Remember if you will the postponement of Boris Yeltsin's visit to Japan or the visits of the presidents of Romania and Bulgaria to Ukraine."

#### Ministry Refuses To Confirm, Deny Arms Sales

LD1512150993 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0817 GMT  
15 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev - A UNIAN correspondent was informed yesterday at Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the British, Russian, and Chinese mass media are continuing to accuse Ukraine of trading in weapons with Iran and even with Iraq. In the opinion of diplomats, the singular campaign is connected with Russian and Chinese interests in that region who hope to find a ready market for weapons in the Near East. In particular, Russia traditionally exported various types of weapons but recently its share of weapons in the world market has fallen from 35 percent (1992) to 15 percent (1993). It was stated at Ministry of Defense level that, in accordance with the norms of international law, only those weapons that have been completely manufactured on the territory of the state may be sold, and since Ukraine practically does not have such complete manufacturing cycles, its possibilities in the weapons trade are greatly limited.

"But the right to sell or not to sell weapons to one state or the other, in particular to Iran, belongs exclusively to Ukraine," said an official at the Ministry of Defense who wished to remain anonymous.

**Slovak Premier Said To Order Troops to Border**

PM1512171993 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 7

[Own correspondent Zdenek Gorzheni report: "Three Slovak Regiments To Go to Border With Ukraine"]

[Text] Bratislava, 14 December—Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar brought the police and three Army regiments stationed in the eastern part of the country up to combat readiness and was about to head with them for the Slovak-Ukraine border.

In his words, the Slovak authorities had information that Transcarpathian Ukraine was set to proclaim its autonomy, after which armed operations by Kiev could be expected. But it is not clear what the premier planned to do with the troops on the 100-km border if the events he was mooting were to happen in Transcarpathian Ukraine.

Meciar gave his orders to the aforementioned three regiments at the end of October, informing his own party activists about this at a closed conference held 27 November in Eastern Slovakia. His secret report soon fell into the hands of journalists from the newspaper SLOVENSKY VYCHOD, which is published in the city of Kosice. The newspaper printed the report in full along with other "sensational" revelations.

The Slovak premier's words about possible events in Transcarpathian Ukraine and the proposed transfer of three regiments toward the Slovak-Ukrainian border are being met with mistrust and even as a provocation by many in Slovakia. Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik declared that they run counter to the principles of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, which Meciar heads.

So far the Slovak Government has not confirmed that the measures mentioned by its chairman have actually been taken in respect of Transcarpathian Ukraine. But nor has it issued any denial on this score. Either way, at the very least Slovak newspapers believe that SLOVENSKY VYCHOD printed not a forgery, but a genuine text.

**Tarasyuk, Hungarian Counterpart View Relations**

AU1512132593 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 11 Dec 93 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Cooperation Between Two Ministers"]

[Text] Consultations at the level of deputy ministers of foreign affairs of Ukraine and Hungary were held in Kiev. [Ukraine's deputy foreign minister] Borys Tarasyuk and [Hungary's deputy foreign minister] Ivan Baba took part

in them. As they informed correspondents, the consultations dealt with cooperation between the two ministries on political and external economic issues, as well as in the sphere of creating guarantees for national minorities.

"We arrived at a joint conclusion," stated Ivan Baba to the correspondents, "on the need to make our economic cooperation closer and more dynamic." Borys Tarasyuk said that he had briefed his Hungarian colleague on the ratification of START-1 by Ukraine's Supreme Council. The question of security in the region was also an important topic in the negotiations. Ivan Baba gave a high assessment of Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk's initiative on the creation of a security zone in Eastern and Central Europe.

**National Affairs**

**Kravchuk Chairs Council of Ministers Anti-Crime Meeting**

LD1512234793 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] The press service of the president of Ukraine reports that a session of the Coordinative Committee for the Campaign against Corruption and Organized Crime has taken place under the chairmanship of Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, at the Cabinet of Ministers session on 15 December. The committee was set up under the president of Ukraine in November of this year, in accordance with the law of Ukraine on the organizational and legal basis of the campaign against corruption and organized crime.

Opening the session, the president of Ukraine noted, in particular, that crime is continuing to increase in Ukraine, especially organized crime, bribery, abuse of official positions, and corruption are flourishing. Ukrainian property is being stolen and taken abroad. The necessary measures to intensify the campaign against crime are not being taken everywhere in the provinces. Six months ago the Supreme Council confirmed the state program for the campaign against crime. However, the majority of organizational and legal measures planned for this year have not been implemented yet.

Taking this into account, the members of the Coordinative Committee should start working actively, act resolutely, and influence the state of affairs. The decisions of the committee are mandatory for state bodies and officials. The heads of these bodies will bear personal responsibility for not carrying out its decisions in accordance with current legislation.

The Coordinative Committee examined organizational issues and determined the priority directions of its work.

**Increased Untaxed Income Levels Introduced**

*WSI612114393 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[From "Peak Hour" feature]

[Text] The Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers has adopted a decree increasing the levels of an untaxed minimum income of Ukrainian citizens, and of progressive taxation tariffs. Beginning 1 December 1993, an untaxed minimum income of Ukrainian citizens stands at 120,000 karbovanetses. The decree establishes rates and amounts for progressive taxation of people's incomes [words indistinct]. People's incomes in hard currency are taxed according to the rates established by the previous government's decrees. [words indistinct]

According to the Cabinet of Ministers' decree No. 470 from 23 June 1993, incomes of underground workers in coal and mining industries are taxed at their work places based on a yearly taxation.

Taxation of yearly incomes of workers of enterprises and institutions has also been established.

The entire text of the decree will be published in our press.

**Plyushch Speaks at End of Supreme Council Session**

*LD1512225593 Kiev UNIA in Ukrainian 1536 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Text] Kiev, 15 December—The afternoon session of Supreme Council deputies completed discussing economic issues. Ukrainian Supreme Council Chairman Ivan Plyushch spoke at the end of the session. He stressed that the process begun in Ukraine was "a process of transformation of the post-Communist administrative and command system into a democratic society, a process of transition to a market economy, progressing regardless of whether the Supreme Council wishes it or not." The parliamentary speaker pointed out that Ukraine could not remain an island, isolated from the rest of the world. He described as an important step the turning of Ukrainian power structures away from Moscow's interests and toward our own. The Supreme Council chairman's view is that Ukraine's system should be changed, but it can only be done by a team that has the know-how. Privatization should be a means to change the relations of production and end the plundering of property, rather than a panacea for every trouble. "We must make up the rules of our game," he stressed with regard to developing a new system.

The parliament speaker reported that in Ukraine 20 trillion karbovantsi worth of free money is circulating, a part of which is convertible and found in banks of the near and far abroad. Plyushch believes the number one task is to set up a system capable of clarifying where this money disappears. The authorities should bear responsibility for the lack of a financial system. He named the main task of forming a new budget as creating a system

in which Ukraine would not expect help from other countries, but would rely on its own forces.

The Supreme Council chairman favors a civilized transfer of power: "One should ask the people to come to the electoral districts on 27 March and elect worthy people to the new composition of the Supreme Council, those who will be able to lead Ukraine to true independence."

Plyushch reported that Ukraine owes Russia (2800) trillion karbovantsi, noting that Russia had forgotten about Ukraine's share (18.9 percent) of the diamond fund, the gold reserve, and the property of the former Soviet Union abroad.

**Laws Passed 15 Dec**

*LD1512232993 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Text] Plenary sittings of the eighth session of the Supreme Council of Ukraine continued on 15 December. The people's deputies continued to discuss issues connected with the social and economic situation that has arisen in our state, which they had begun [discussing] on the previous day. Supreme Council Chairman Ivan Plyushch and more than 30 deputies took part in the debate.

The evening session started with a debate on the resolution on the issues which had been discussed. Four drafts of this document did not satisfy the people's deputies. In accordance with a proposal by deputy Vitaliy Melnychuk, a deputies group was set up, headed by Vasyl Durdynets, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Council, which has been charged with elaborating a draft resolution and submitting it for examination on 16 December.

On the same day [15 December], the Supreme Council adopted laws on patents for inventions, useful models, on patents for industrial models, on goods symbols and servicing symbols, on seeds, and on stock breeding. Draft laws on making amendments and additions to the Code on Mineral Wealth, and on ensuring the public health and epidemiological well-being of the population were also approved in their first reading. Amendments and additions to the Law on Protecting Consumers' Rights, the Code on Administrative Offenses, the Code of Labor Laws and the Cabinet of Ministers decree on labor protection were also made.

**Miners Demand Resignation of Entire Leadership**

*LD1512193593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1453 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Gordeyev]

[Text] Donetsk December 15 TASS—A number of shift meetings have been held in working collectives of the Gorky coal mine of the "Donetskugol" association lately.

Stating that the policy of the Kiev authorities has brought the republic to the verge of an economic disaster, miners from this coal mine demanded the immediate resignation of the Ukrainian president, the Supreme Soviet and the Cabinet of Ministers of the country. The miners believe that it is necessary to transfer the functions of the transitional government to the Committee for the Emergency Situation.

If payment of November wages is not made today, miners' brigades will not go down to coal-faces, the miners of the Gorky coal mine warned.

#### **Ministry Launches Campaign Against Firearms**

AU1512145793 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 14 Dec 93 p 1

["Appeal by Ukraine's Ministry of Internal Affairs to Ukrainian Citizens" in Kiev; date not given]

[Text] Dear Fellow Countrymen,

The operational situation in Ukraine remains extremely complicated. The availability of large quantities of firearms in the hands of the population contributes, to a certain extent, to making it worse. The very problem of the illegal spread of firearms gives rise to great concern on the part of Ukraine's law-enforcement organs, in particular, the organs of internal affairs. We are extremely alarmed by the fact that considerable quantities of firearms are getting into the hands of criminals, who commit the most daring and serious crimes with them. This year alone, 762 crimes involving the use of firearms have been recorded. The death of 253 persons became a sad consequence of these crimes.

Ukraine's Ministry of Internal Affairs adopted a decision to hold a month-long campaign for voluntarily surrendering and registering firearms at city rayon departments of internal affairs. This action will continue from 15 December 1993 to 15 January 1994.

The leadership of Ukraine's Ministry of Internal Affairs appeals to all citizens with a request to take an active part in this campaign. Needless to say, firearms, munitions, and explosives that are being illegally harbored by individual citizens constitute an enormous danger for the lives of adults and, especially, children. That is why the decision to register those weapons or hand them over to the militia voluntarily would be most expedient and proper, in order to get rid of these dangerous articles themselves and help friends, relatives, and acquaintances do the same.

We remind you that the illegal possession and storage of firearms is punishable, in accordance with Article 222 of Ukraine's Criminal Code, by five years imprisonment. At the same time, the voluntary turning over of firearms, munitions, and explosives kept without a corresponding license relieves one of criminal responsibility.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs hopes to find understanding and support for this measure which is intended to ensure calm, peace, and harmony in our state.

Press Center of Ukraine's Ministry of Internal Affairs-UKRINFORM

#### **Interregional Bloc Welcomes All Centrist Forces**

WS1612100793 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] At a press conference held on 15 December, Leonid Kuchma and Volodymyr Hrynyov, leaders of the Interregional Bloc for Reforms emphasized the need to separate and reform the legislative and executive branches. Under this circumstance, the president should assume the entire legislative power, with the parliament concentrating on drafting a new constitution. As for Russia, the leaders noted that the election results should not reflect on relations with that country because people like Zhirinovskiy come and go, but the Russian people will always remain. Speaking about the upcoming legislative elections in Ukraine, Kuchma and Hrynyov stressed that their bloc is open to all constructive ideas and proposals, and said they were ready to ally themselves with all centrist forces. Instead of confrontation, one must seek reconciliation.

#### **Shapes Electoral Program**

LD1612093293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0711 GMT 16 Dec 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Olga Tanasiychuk for TASS]

[Text] Kiev December 16 TASS—The Ukrainian Inter-Regional Reform Bloc is going to build its electoral campaign on three main principles: the need for deep-going reforms both economic and political ones, the transfer of the main spheres of activities to provinces and the improvement of relations with Russia. This was announced at a press conference on Wednesday by its leaders—Leonid Kuchma and Vladimir Grinev.

They stressed the need for separating the legislative and executive branches of authority as soon as possible and for reforming them. In this situation the president should take upon himself the legislative powers in full volume, and the parliament should concentrate its attention on the drafting of a new constitution.

Kuchma reiterated once again that he was not going to run for president, at least until the results of the elections become known.



**Political Forces in Run-Up to Elections Viewed***MK1512122093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 4*

[Konstantin Parishkura report in the "Neighbors" column: "The Election Campaign for Ukraine's New Supreme Soviet Has Started. Ideals Come Into Conflict With Interests"]

[Text] The ambassadors of Denmark, Belgium, and Greece have for a month been pressing for a meeting with the republic's top leadership in order to express the European Community's opinion on Ukraine's draft election law. The reason for such a persistent wish was Ukraine's officially voiced intention to join the European Council. And it was not until the law was to come into force, when nothing could be changed, that Vasiliy Durdinets, first deputy Supreme Soviet chairman, received them—barring the press.

As before, the election system will be based on a majority principle, in 450 single-seat constituencies. The formation of the constituencies was controlled by the outgoing soviets and the Central Election Commission, which in its turn is approved by the Supreme Soviet, having been submitted by the chairman. The right to nominate candidates stays with the labor collectives (directly) and parties (a whole bunch of formalities). There are no sanctions for violating the law envisioned in the draft; nor does it contain a definition of "gross violations" for which election commission members may be disqualified. The law leaves a whole number of provisions to the discretion of officials.

The diplomats wanted to warn the Ukrainian leadership about this. After such a belated—to put in mildly—reception, the rumor ran wild—which was neither confirmed nor denied—that France and Germany were going to downgrade their representations in Kiev to consulates.

Over the past week several election groupings have taken shape. First a statement was circulated about the creation of the Democratic Center platform which was signed by Volodymyr Grinev, former Ukrainian Supreme Soviet deputy chairman; Volodymyr Filenko, Democratic Revival Party chairman; Volodymyr Yavokrivskyy, Ukrainian Democratic Party chairman; Anatoliy Matviyenko, Volodymyr Ryadko, State Property Fund chairman; and Anatoliy Matviyenko, former first secretary of the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee. An interregional reforms bloc was then set up by Volodymyr Grinev and former premier Leonid Kuchma, who had earlier promulgated his election platform.

A day before, on 8 December, the mid-level nomenklatura held its founding congress (the hall was rented by the cabinet of ministers and protected by the militia), who united within the Gromada society, openly proclaiming the aim of legalizing the shadow capital. Officially the organization is represented by former members of New Ukraine, including Grinev and Filenko. One of

Odessa's largest groups, which created Gromada, was also present at the fifth congress of Ukraine's People's Rukh (10 through 12 December). Last spring Secretariat Chief Mikhail Boychishin conducted negotiations in Odessa with Eduard Gurvits, the ideologue of creating a free economic zone in this region.

Igor Markulov, chairman of the Ukrainian Liberal Democratic Party (based in Donetsk), who recently resigned as adviser to the republic's president on entrepreneurial activity—leaving his party deputy there, however—circulated his platform highlights: The party has enormous hard currency funds and also an agreement with the region's independent trade unions on converting Donbass.

On 17 December the Ukrainian Socialist Party will hold its congress. Although the communists and socialists have united on a common election platform in the regions, chances are there will be no republic-wide bloc with the communists: The Ukrainian Communist Party's unpredictability scares socialist leader Oleksandr Moroz.

On 24 and 25 December the Private Property Owners Union will hold its founding congress—another force intent to struggle for power. The organizing committee includes Oleksandr Sugonenko, chairman of the Ukrainian Commercial Banks Association; Volodymyr Pilipshuk, current chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet's Commission on Economic Reform; and Volodymyr Lanovoy, former vice premier.

The last to hold its congress, in January, will be the Supreme Soviet's former nomenklatura—the Ukrainian Labor Congress.

The only force in utter confusion are the social and liberal democrats, who in theory have the largest electorate in Ukraine. Neither have the Christian Democrats revealed their intentions.

Not everyone in the Ukrainian People's Rukh has understood that with the start of the election campaign ideals have begun to be squeezed out by interests. This was pointed out by Ivan Zayets, leader of the opposition People's Rada, who thinks that the slogan, "He who has money will save Ukraine," is harmful.

The creation of a common election platform (16 democratic organizations) may harm the democrats in various regions. The association with the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists will damage the democrats' image in the West, and interrelations with those advocating closer links with Russia will be negatively received in eastern Ukraine; some votes there will go to the extreme nationalists.

As far as elections of the future president are concerned, only Volodymyr Grinev, who left his post before his tenure ran out, is so far making no secret of his intention. Levko Lukyanenko, who has resigned as ambassador to Canada, is closely watching the situation. Vyacheslav Chornovil candidly told the Rukh congress that without

winning parliamentary elections there is no way one can even think about the presidency.

**Mykola Bahrov To Run for President of Crimea**

*LD1512180693 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0817 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Text] Mykola Bahrov, chairman of the Supreme Council of Crimea has officially announced that he intends to run for the post of president of Crimea as an independent candidate. Simferopol, on 14 June, Mykola Bahrov, chairman of the Supreme Council of Crimea, officially appealed to the people of Crimea. The appeal in particular reads that following serious thought and meetings with representatives of work collectives, he took a decision to run for the presidential post as an independent candidate. Mykola Bahrov said that taking into account the consequences of the collapse of the former Soviet Union, "The Crimea should chose an independent path of development through the formation of a new type of economy which will exploit the potential of the republic to a maximum and will open up wide opportunities for the active work of state enterprises and entrepreneurs". He also stressed that as a presidential candidate he is prepared to propose an action program to the people of Crimea.

On the same day at a meeting of the extended collegium of the Crimean Party of Social Guarantees took a decision to support Mykola Bahrov's candidacy for the president of the Crimean Republic since "at present he alone more than the other candidates is capable of really ensuring social guarantees for the citizens of Crimea.

**Crimean Tartar Leader Opposes Presidential Law**

*LD1512173593 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Text] The leader of the Organization of the Crimean Tartar National Movement, (Eredzheb Khayretidinov), has held a news conference in Kiev, where he set out his organization's position on the law on the Crimean presidential elections. It was pointed out, in particular, that the Crimean presidential law had been adopted within the territory and borders of a sovereign state. This, in the national movement leaders' opinion, to some extent makes that post a sham, and at the same time means that the central presidential power is ignored. It was also stressed that the above law contravened the Crimean Tartar people's aspiration to exercise their right to declare ethnic territorial statehood within Ukraine.

**Lvov Registers Paramilitary Organization Despite Ban**

*LD1512203093 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0817 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Text] Lvov—Despite the fact that Ukraine's Supreme Council adopted an amendment to the legislation which bans militarized formations, on 14 December the Lvov UNSO [Ukrainian National Self Defense] officially

announced the fact that the oblast's directorate of justice had issued certificate number 86 registering the regional organization of UNSO as a public organization. The certificate notes that the main goal of UNSO's activities is to "prepare young people for service in Ukraine's Armed Forces, to help the state power bodies and enterprises in liquidating the consequences of industrial accidents, and in sport and patriotic education."

**Lvov Soviet Reacts Against Communist Activity**

*PM1512131593 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 3*

[Vladimir Bogdanovskiy report under "P.S. Events and Commentary" rubric: "Communists Will Have Hard Time in West Ukraine"]

[Text] Lvov—The Ukrainian Justice Ministry has registered the country's Communist Party. This decision has provoked a negative reaction among a certain section of the population of the republic's western region.

Leaders of some public organizations have been stating at rallies and meetings that the activity of the Communist Party of Ukraine-CPSU has had a criminal orientation and that the party has been trying to exterminate the Ukrainian nation. The newly formed Communist Party of Ukraine, which propagates the Bolshevik ideology, has also been said to bear responsibility for its predecessors' crimes.

There was a keen debate about this at a Lvov Oblast Soviet session. A decision was adopted which evaluated the Communist Party of Ukraine's activity as antistate. The oblast soviet recommends that all state structures, organizations, and enterprises and legal entities refrain from official or unofficial contacts with the Communist Party of Ukraine, deny it permission to hold mass events, do not allow it to use premises to organize meetings, telephone lines and other communications facilities, or a speechmaking platform for the party's representatives, do not accept its publications for dissemination, etc.

Some people evidently believe that the Ukrainian nation can be "saved" by cutting it off from the Communist Party of Ukraine in this way. Is it not with the same aim that the "Ostankino" television channel is sometimes switched off in Lvov earlier than the time shown in the schedules?

**Lvov Officials Seize Privatized Firm's Property**

*LD1612095493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0933 GMT 16 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Nekrasova]

[Text] Lvov December 16 TASS—The Lvov authorities in western Ukraine are apparently bent on ruining the country's first joint-stock company, the "Electron" concern which has 57 thousand shareholders.

In defiance of all the existing laws, Lvov officials forcefully confiscated the company's color television daughter factory, reregistering it under a new owner. The "Electron" has no longer any rights to the TV factory.

The company's management has issued a protest directly to President Leonid Kravchuk and parliament speaker Ivan Plyushch.

The fate of the first organisation in Ukraine to float its capital (registered as stock number one) is obvious to all. It is no surprise that other regions are not rushing to privatise their factories, plants and workshops. The future owners are not sure that they will be the real masters of their property, independent of the will and control of the state.

#### **Sevastopol Administrators 'Exasperated' With Kiev**

*PM1512134593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Dec 93 First Edition p 6*

[Report by Aleksandr Shinkin: "Sevastopol Exasperated"]

[Text] The president's representatives in Sevastopol, including I. Yermakov, head of the city administration, have sent an appeal to the president, the Supreme Council, and the Government of Ukraine. They were forced to do this, so they write, by recent events connected with the republic leadership's rash actions on questions of the economy and prices.

In their opinion, the policy of state isolation has become the main feature of the country's economy. A tactic has been developed of cutting off the center from the state

management bodies in the provinces. The lack of clear-cut guidelines in state policy and contradictions among the branches of power have resulted in managers in the provinces being given the unenviable role of extras who resolve only the immediate tasks of providing social respite.

The draft law approved by the Ukrainian president on a special economic zone in the Sevastopol region has not yet been adopted and is being sabotaged by the government.

Essentially not one of Sevastopol's proposals has been reflected in the republic leadership's activity. As a result, production volumes are falling, the ranks of the unemployed are swelling, the living standards of the city's residents are deteriorating, the absolute majority of municipal service sectors are in a state of paralysis, and appeals are being issued and preparations made for a political strike.

Condemning this leadership policy, the president's representatives demanded that it publish a program of political and economic reforms as quickly as possible and define the guidelines which Ukraine will follow. It is necessary, the Sevastopol representatives declared, to end any actions entailing the destruction of Ukraine's historical and cultural ties with Russia, Belarus, and other former USSR republics. Also to take concrete steps toward resolving problems of the single economic area and "transparent" borders. And to end the delay over resolving the questions of the Black Sea Fleet and dual citizenship and introducing a second state language—Russian—at a statewide level.

The people of Sevastopol are evidently exasperated.

## Belarus

### Official on Ties With Russia, CIS Economy

LD1512173493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1545  
GMT 15 Dec 93

[By BELINFORM-TASS correspondent Larisa Klyuchnikova]

[Text] Minsk December 15 TASS—Commenting on the Sunday elections in Russia, Mikhail Myasnikov, first vice chairman of the Belarus Council of Ministers, said he was sure that relations between Belarus and Russia would remain very close as always. At the same time, he noted the possibility of new people being included in the Russian Government, advocates of special views on Russia's relationships with CIS nations.

Myasnikov also said that the Belarus Government was alarmed by tendencies towards "economic autonomy" in some CIS countries. For instance, steps are being taken to reshape several industries there in order to lessen their dependence on deliveries from the Belarus Republic. "Integration is the only way to develop the economy," the vice-premier believes, "and history will never forgive us if the idea of establishing closed economies prevails."

Myasnikov said that the customs services of Russia and Belarus were now working hard in connection with the pending removal of Russian customs post from the border with Belarus on December 15.

Nikolay Skorynin, one of the leaders of the "Belarus" parliamentary faction and adviser of the Belarus prime minister, said that the results of the elections in Russia may produce a "stalemate in the state Duma". In his opinion, an approximately equal representation of the main political forces on the new Russian parliament could block the solution of many problems. He also noted that he had foreseen Zhirinovskiy's success. Skorynin expressed cautious skepticism as regards prospects for the adoption of the new Belarus constitution, backed by the "Belarus" faction.

### Kebich Says Monetary Union Will Save Republic's Sovereignty

WS1612100693 Minsk RESPUBLIKA in Russian 11  
Dec 93 p 1, 2

[Report by the information service of the Cabinet of Ministers: "Vyacheslav Kebich—Trade Unions: No Duel Has Been Held"]

[Text] Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich has held a meeting with a delegation of the Federation of Trade Unions headed by Vladimir Goncharik at the House of Government.

The delegation included leaders of various branch trade unions and trade union committees from the largest

industrial enterprises in the Republic. The prime minister received a package of proposals aimed at strengthening social protection under the current economic crisis and stemming rampant price hikes. A discussion on the proposals was held, during which mutual understanding was reached in a majority of key issues.

In particular, Vyacheslav Kebich decisively denounced exaggerated rumors on the upcoming freezing of wages. On the contrary, next week, the Cabinet of Ministers will propose that the minimum monthly wage be increased to 30,000 rubles [R] beginning 1 January 1994. It is quite possible that this will not satisfy everybody, however, one should take into account the situation of our budget and the capabilities of the majority of industrial enterprises.

The government will continue correcting people's incomes through increasing minimum wages over the next year. Yet, this must be adapted to the new reality. The head of the government invited trade unions to participate in joint work on a new tariff network, to avoid further deepening of the gap between wages of workers. Answering a question about delays in payments that occur at some enterprises, he said that the government will make all possible efforts to solve this problem as soon as possible.

Trade unions are also concerned about the possible introduction of free prices for milk, bread, fuel, electricity, and municipal services. Understanding all consequences such a step could generate, especially for the poorest sector of society, the government will not rush with this measure. Although price increases are inevitable, they will be implemented gradually and will be accompanied by appropriate forms of compensation. Regarding prices for energy sources, it has been decided that beginning 1 January they will be equal for all consumers, except municipal services.

The prime minister also accepted the trade unionists' demand to halt privatization of industrial enterprises without the consent of their workers. One of the latest resolutions reflects the government stance on this issue: Privatization of such enterprises should be agreed to by local authorities, and the latter would take into account workers' opinions.

Also discussed at the meeting was the expediency of reducing budget expenditures for administration. As is known, the government approves of such a reduction. This issue will be addressed by the Supreme Soviet in the near future. However, it is strange that similar demands are presented only to the Cabinet of Ministers, pointed out Kebich, while at the same time, for example, the Supreme Soviet apparatus is twice as big as the government. Local administration is also overgrown. For instance, the Vitebsk Oblast Committee employs 987 people, while the Cabinet of Ministers—only 387, including technical personnel.

Many questions concerned the unification of the Belarusian and Russian monetary systems. The most important point was whether this unification undermines the



Republic's sovereignty. Certain Russian officials have suggested that we could establish a confederation, said Vyacheslav Kebich, but we have categorically rejected this idea. The government considers the unification of monetary systems as the only, and the least painful, method for jointly overcoming the economic crisis. This path is neither simple nor easy, but the most important matter is that there is a desire to overcome all obstacles. It would be erroneous to consider this a policy of continuous concessions. Making concessions today, tomorrow, our Republic will be able to improve living standards of its citizens, and to solve many economic problems, therefore, to save Belarus' sovereignty and statehood. Complex questions can be solved only through cooperation, not confrontation.

Endorsing such a policy, the prime minister emphasized, Russia, now before the unification of the monetary systems, already meets many of our demands. As is known, our million-worth debts for oil have been annulled, and recently, we have signed an agreement on increased gas deliveries—54 million cubic meters per day, given our daily demand of 43 million cubic meters. This will allow for replenishing our scarce mazout reserves, providing heating for apartments, restoring production at numerous enterprises, and finally, reducing unemployment.

The participants of the meeting understood the government position on this issue. Mutual understanding was also reached in many other aspects. A new cooperation agreement between the Cabinet of Ministers and the Federation of Trade Unions provides that such meetings be held more frequently in 1994.

Also attending the meeting were First Deputy Prime Minister Mikhail Myasnikov, Deputy Prime Minister Nikolay Kostikov, Roman Vnuchko, chairman of the Standing Committee for Planning and Budget of the Supreme Soviet, and other officials.

#### Foreign Trade Officials Summarize Activities

WS1612100193 Minsk DOBRY VECHAR in Russian  
10 Dec 93 p 1

[Report by Irina Germanovich: "Foreign Trade: Certain Success"]

[Text] The Cabinet of Ministers has finally approved the document entitled "The Leading Directions of Measures for Extricating the Republic of Belarus From the Socio-economic Crisis and Accelerating Market Reforms." As a matter of fact, this is a program from overcoming the deep economic crisis in Belarus. Emphasis has been particularly put on external economic activities, since the structure of our economy requires that over 50 percent of production be exported and approximately the same amount be imported.

Yesterday, V. Radkevich, chairman of the State Committee for External Economic Relations, M. Marinich

and S. Atroshchenko, deputy chairmen of this committee, P. Krechko, first deputy chairman of the State Customs Committee, and G. Aleynikov, chairman of the Belvneshekonombank, held a press conference devoted to this issue.

As is known, not long ago, external economic activities were governed by the center (Moscow), and concepts of such activities were developed at three highly scientific-research institutes. Due to that, our specialists from the State Committee for External Economic Relations had to start from scratch.

Today, it can be said that we have established legal foundations for our independent, external economic activities, said Radkevich. We have signed 24 international agreements. In 1992, we obtained an active foreign trade balance for the first time. The Republic has managed not only to protect its old markets, but also won certain new ones. Our products are exported to 87 countries. Our main foreign trade partners are Germany—12.8 percent, Poland—11.3 percent, Austria—6 percent, and the United States—6 percent. Over the first nine months of this year, Belarus' foreign trade turnover has amounted to \$1.1 billion.

When it comes to our foreign markets, it should be admitted that despite a certain weakening of our position in Europe, this region remains very important to us. Asian markets also seem to be very lucrative. We have not yet established trade relations with Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia, and Indonesia. African and Australian markets also remain unexplored.

We believe that the main emphasis should be put on improving the principles of foreign trade and their liberalization, meaning a reduction of administrative restrictions and limitations. Our goods should be exported without unnecessary limitations, and additionally, bank guarantees should be introduced for exporters, said Radkevich.

Aleynikov pointed out that the Belvneshekonombank makes all possible efforts to meet market demands. Contacts with 360 banks all over the world have been established. Modern data systems have recently been introduced. This will significantly improve banking operations.

We are not a state bank, emphasized Aleynikov, and this is our advantage. We are trusted abroad and in the country. Forceful state methods are impossible in relations with us. We will not allow for history with freezing and confiscating hard currency of the former Soviet Vneshekonombank to repeat itself.

## Law Enforcement Ministers Say 'Entire' State Corrupt

### Supreme Soviet Briefed

WS1612100993 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0400 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Leaders of law enforcement ministries spoke at the Belarusian Supreme Soviet on 15 December. Their analysis of the situation is not comforting—an invisible net of corruption has covered the entire state. This fact was confirmed by General Prosecutor Vasil Shaladonov, Security Committee Chairman Eduard Shyrkovskiy, and Interior Minister Vladimir Yegorow. Control Chamber Chairman Vasil Sakovich briefed the deputies on the revealed embezzlements in the economic sphere. Alyaksandr Lukashenka delivered the closing speech and answered numerous questions. The draft resolution on this issue will be discussed on 16 December.

The Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution on regulating mutual debts by Belarusian enterprises.

### High Officials Accused

LD1612031793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2038 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] The head of the Belarussian parliamentary interim commission for addressing corruption in the top echelons of state power, Aleksandr Lukashenko, has accused Speaker Stanislav Shushkevich, Vice Prime Minister Nikolay Kostikov, Prime Minister's Spokesman, Vasilii Dragovets, head of the government commercial department, Georgiy Troyan, and the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Committee, Aleksey Borsch.

Speaking before a parliamentary session today, Lukashenko maintained that the persons named used services of the state construction department paying only part of their price.

He said that Shushkevich, for example, underpaid by about 300,000 rubles for four installations he ordered from the department. Kostikov - about 600,000 rubles, Dragovets - about 250,000 rubles, Troyan - about 135,000 rubles and Borsch - about 380,000 rubles.

In turn, Shushkevich categorically dismissed the accusation admitting he had really used the department's services to repair the gravestone on his mother's tomb which had been ruined by hooligans.

The speaker lay special emphasis on the fact that he paid the whole official price he was presented for two of the four installations mentioned. As for the fourth object, his personal dacha, Shushkevich said he built it exclusively on his own, helped by his friends and never resorted to the services of the department.

Shushkevich read out an official note of Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich stating that the investigation of the

department's activities had not been completed yet, and the commission's conclusions were premature.

The Belarussian parliament will continue discussing Lukashenko's report on Thursday.

## Communists: Capitalism May Lead to Civil War

WS1512133593 Minsk VECHERNIY MINSK in Russian 10 Dec 93 p 1

[Report by Valeriy Stepanov: "Communists Against New Constitution"]

[Text] In an appeal to Belarussian people's deputies, the leaders of the Minsk political club Communist have demanded that the draft constitution that has been submitted for Supreme Soviet consideration be rejected, and that deputies take into consideration the fact that revival of capitalism contradicts vital interests of the working people, and difficulties connected with this process can lead to a civil war.

In order to avoid this, according to the authors of the appeal, it is necessary to set a course for the preservation of socialism and rejection of previously committed faults. It is essential to maintain the socialist foundations of the economy in the form of public property and central planning, as well as the people's authorities in the form of all-level Soviets. The idea of presidential office must be rejected, since it could be used to impose dictatorship, given the current complex situation in the Republic. It would be sufficient to attach to the current constitution certain amendments strengthening powers of Soviets and clearly defining responsibilities of the legislative, executive, and judicial authorities.

The Movement for Democracy, Social Progress, and Justice has come forward with an analogous appeal to the people's deputies attending the 13th session of the Supreme Soviet.

## Opposition Issues Memo on Administrative System

WS1612113993 Minsk BELAPAN in Belarusian 1249 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] The Belarussian Popular Front and other Supreme Soviet democratic deputies have issued a memorandum on the administrative system in the Republic. The memorandum outlines the opposition's position on the future form of the state administration. According to the memorandum, Belarus should become a parliamentary republic, whose president would be the leader of the state. The president would be elected by the people, have the right to dissolve the legislature and the present impotent soviets, and ordain legislative elections. However, he would not be the head of the executive authorities. Presidential elections, believes the opposition, should be held no earlier than six months after the new legislature is elected and a new government is formed.

Dismissal of the current Cabinet of Ministers and establishing an interim government should be the first steps aimed at overcoming today's political and economic crisis. This should be followed by resolutions on amending the current Constitution, or adopting a new one, and holding early legislative elections. The system of soviets should be gradually exchanged with a municipal one, emphasizes the memorandum. It also proposed replacing the current administrative division in oblasts with a two-level system.

### Moldova

#### Opposition to Ilascu Group Sentences Continues

##### CSCE Mission Expresses Concern

LD1412200193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1729 GMT 14 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau December 14 TASS—A CSCE mission to Moldova expressed today concern with possible aggravation of the Chisinau-Tiraspol relations due to the sentence passed on the Ilascu group.

The six supporters of the Moldovan Christian-Democratic Front were sentenced on December 9 by a trans-Dniester court to long terms of imprisonment, and their leader Ilie Ilascu, to capital punishment on charge of murders and acts of sabotage during last year's armed conflict. The case provoked tension in Moldova, where the opposition organized rallies of protest.

The mission called on the sides to prevent the escalation of tension and continue a political dialogue on final settlement of the conflict. It suggested to achieve accord on the basis of CSCE recommendations. As for the Ilascu group, their case should be reviewed by a court to be approved by all interested sides. The mission offered assistance in this respect.

##### Demonstration Held in Chisinau

LD1412195593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1727 GMT 14 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau December 14 TASS—A huge protest demonstration was held in Chisinau today against sentences imposed on six nationalists from Ilie Ilascu's group—supporters of the Christian Democratic Popular Front of Moldova, accused by the Tiraspol authorities of preparing and carrying out terrorist acts during the last year's armed conflict. One of the convicts, Ilie Ilascu, was condemned to death on Thursday and the others jailed for terms ranging from two to fifteen years.

Protesters tried to picket President Mircea Snegur's residence and the building in which the Russian Embassy is temporarily located, but were pushed away by reinforced police squads.

The demonstration was organized by the Christian Democratic Popular Front of Moldova which favors unification with Romania. As was to be expected, this movement did not fail to derive a political capital from the trial in Tiraspol. The names of Ilie Ilascu and his lawyer were put on the election lists of the front whose leaders hope in this way to regain their lost popularity and win votes at the forthcoming elections to the republican parliament scheduled for February 1994. It is no mere chance that participants in meetings organized by the opposition in support of Ilie Ilascu, are giving more attention to criticizing the Moldovan leadership and whipping up anti-Russian sentiments.

#### Trade Official Views Possible GATT Admission

AU1512133093 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1853 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 13/12/1993—On 17 December the states that signed the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) will discuss in Geneva the question of Moldova's joining of that international organization, stated to BASA Anatol Arapu, first vice minister of external economic relations of Moldova. He said that the main states that signed that agreement pronounced at the meeting on 19 November in favor of Moldova's joining GATT. Moldova as a GATT contractor will have preferential tariffs in the trade with 111 contractor states, stated Anatol Arapu. He added that above all this agreement would allow Moldova to penetrate European and world markets.

#### Poll Conducted Among Private Company Owners

AU1512131593 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1853 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 13/12/1993—A proportion of 24.29 percent of Moldovan private enterprises operate in the commercial sphere, 21.28 percent in agriculture, 0.72 percent in tourism, and 2.48 percent in medical care, states a poll by the service of opinion and market research of the Academy of Economic Studies. The majority of 1,001 respondents, private entrepreneurs and managers of joint ventures, stressed that 60.64 percent of the Moldovan companies were formed in 1989, 10.02 percent in 1991, and 15.08 percent in 1992. A proportion of 16.08 percent of the respondents consider that their company is very poor, 37.16 percent—poor, 43.06 percent think that their enterprises have average incomes, and merely 1.90 percent consider themselves rich. A proportion of 65.93 percent of businessmen are aged 25 to 44, while 23.08 percent are aged 45 to 54. Freedom and economic efficiency is the ideal for 64.94 percent of the respondents.

## Kazakhstan

### Nazarbayev Speaks on Independence Anniversary

LD1512171293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1543  
GMT 15 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Vladimir Akimov, Amangeldiy Akhmetlibov]

[Text] Almaty December 15 TASS—Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev believes one should not exaggerate too much what is currently happening in Russia like some Western analysts do, declaring that reactionary forces have won in Russia. "This is impossible for the very simple reason that peoples of the former Soviet Union and primarily the Russian people, aware of a sinister image of fascism and who plunged into a death battle with the brown plague and won, will never give support to reactionary ideas."

At a public meeting on Wednesday devoted to the second anniversary of Kazakhstan's independence, Nazarbayev pointed out that Kazakhstan's political course for friendship and cooperation with Russia remains invariably firm and consistent. "This political course fully meets the aspirations of our people and cannot be changed for the sake of political fluctuations, somebody's shortsightedness or political ambitions," the Kazakh president said.

He pointed out that Kazakhstan was coming out for further development of equal partnership with Russia. The president clearly sees that political processes under way in Russia are not uniform and demand a balanced assessment. However, he said that it was quite clear that the situation unfolding in Russia was not easy, adding that "he had recently warned that this might happen."

In Nazarbayev's opinion, it is too early to speak about final results of elections in Russia yet, although some tendencies have been markedly felt. Actually, the elections turned into tremendous social research and brought to light serious political problems currently faced by Russian society. "In many ways, this is another problem of making a choice of the way the great country will follow in future," Nazarbayev said.

### Report on Speech

LD1512231093 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Excerpts] A festive meeting was held in Almaty today dedicated to the day of the Republic. It was opened by Zamanbek Nurkadilov, the head of the city administration. [passage omitted] President Nursultan Nazarbayev addressed the meeting participants. A few years ago, he said, the people of Kazakhstan chose the path of independence, and by this we have taken a huge responsibility before future generations. When joining the civilized world community we declared principles common to all mankind in the new constitution and the declaration on sovereignty.

Creating a law-governed state with a social and market economy, ensuring national security, openness in our foreign policy, consolidating our society, and interethnic and civil accord have become our priorities. Kazakhstan's foreign economic cooperation with other countries has considerably expanded. Several credit lines have been opened to us, and credits worth \$1.7 billion for putting into practice investment projects have been signed. More than 160 missions of foreign banks and firms have been accredited in our republic, and more than 1,100 joint ventures have been registered. Kazakhstan's joining the Treaty on Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons has also contributed to strengthening the international image of Kazakhstan. [passage omitted]

Further on, the president dwelled on the issue of Kazakhstan's cooperation with the Commonwealth of Independent States. Touching upon the internal situation in Kazakhstan, the head of state went on to note that a situation has developed in the Republic which [words indistinct]. The Republic now, like never before, needs a professional permanent parliament that can adopt laws of a high quality [as heard], and by this will create a legal basis for the reforms. Nursultan Nazarbayev expressed hope that the new parliament will be joined by competent [people], experts with a modern mentality who will be able to ensure continuity in its work, and the constructive interaction between the legal and executive branches of power. [passage omitted]

### Electoral Commission Chairman on New Elections Law

LD1612002293 Almaty KAZTAG in Russian 1400  
GMT 15 Dec 93

[Excerpts] The new law on elections was recently adopted in the Republic—it is an important legal act which will largely determine the future of our country. A KAZTAG correspondent asked the chairman of the Central Electorate Commission Turusov to comment on it.

First of all I want to emphasize, says Karatay Turusov, that the law is the act that ensures the legal basis for implementing the constitutional norms on elections in Kazakhstan. It unifies in the new form all the provisions that previously have been secured by three independent documents on elections which contained a great number of clauses repeating each other.

[passage omitted] The code consists of two parts: general and specific which consist of 14 chapters and 95 clauses. It clearly sets out all the provisions on the electoral system, regulates the establishment of the constituencies, compiles the lists of the electorate, and sets out the procedure for proposing and registering the candidates. [passage omitted]

[KAZTAG] According to the new law, the absolute majority system will be used when electing the President. What is the essence of it?



[Turusov] We will have the following regulations here: Elections will be considered effective if more than 50 percent of the electorate included on electoral lists participates in the elections.

The relative majority system will be used during the elections of deputies to the Supreme Kenges and local representative bodies. Its essence is in the following: Elections are considered as effective if more than 50 percent of electors, who are included in the lists, participate in voting. A candidate is considered elected if a greater number of electors, participating in elections, voted for him compared to other candidates.

[KAZTAG] What are the principles in creating the new Supreme Kenges?

[Turusov] It will consist of 177 deputies. 135 of them will be elected from single-mandate territorial constituencies, 42 by presidential quota.

[KAZTAG] When will the election campaign start and how long will each of its stages take?

[Turusov] A session of the electorate commission has approved a schedule of the main stages in preparing and carrying out elections of deputies to the Republican Supreme Kenges in 1994. [passage omitted]. Putting forward candidatures in the constituencies and on presidential quota will begin on 27 December and will be completed on 25 January. Their registration will be carried out from 26 January until 8 February inclusive. Pre-election campaign of candidates to deputies in their constituencies will begin on 9 February and be completed on 5 March. Right after the creation of the constituencies the collection of signatures in favor of candidates will begin.

[KAZTAG] Karatay Turusovich, are there any changes in the principle for nominating the candidates and what are the peculiarities of it?

[Turusov] Yes, there are considerable changes. Therefore I would advise all the candidates to deputies first of all to study attentively the new law on elections.

First, all the public movements presented by their republican bodies can nominate their candidates. Second, each candidate can be nominated by one constituency. The citizen of Kazakhstan has the right to put forward his own candidature for the deputy of the Supreme Kenges. A candidate in the constituency can be nominated given that not less than 3,000 electors, living on the territory of the relevant constituency, support him. [passage omitted]

Financing of the electoral commissions for electing the president and deputies of the Supreme Kenges is carried out by the Central Electoral Commission and financing of electoral commissions for electing deputies to the local structures of representative power by relevant territorial electoral commissions. [passage omitted]

[KAZTAG] Indeed there are many changes in the law on elections. When can the electors fully familiarize themselves with them?

[Turusov] It will soon be published by the republican newspapers. Elections are appointed on Monday, 7 March 1994. Voting of the electorate will start at seven in the morning and last until 2000 local time.

[KAZTAG] When will the results of elections become known, Karatay Turusovich?

[Turusov] The territorial electorate commissions should report not later than 14 March on the results of elections to the Supreme Kenges from constituencies and presidential quota. Not later than 17 March, the Central Electoral commission should publish the results of elections throughout the Republic and the list of elected deputies to the Supreme Kenges.

#### Law on Cessation of Powers of Supreme Kenges

LD1612005693 Almaty KAZTAG in Russian 1400  
GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] The law of the Republic of Kazakhstan on preterm cessation of powers of the Supreme Kenges.

Clause No 1. To cease the powers of the Supreme Kenges of the Republic of Kazakhstan after its 11th session ends.

Clause No 2. To preserve legal and social guarantees of people's deputies of the Republic of Kazakhstan, which are ensured by the law of the Republic of Kazakhstan "On the Status of People's Deputies of Kazakh SSR" until the first session of the newly elected Supreme Kenges.

Clause No 3. The President of the Republic of Kazakhstan should implement organizational measures aimed at finding jobs for those deputies who permanently worked at the Supreme Kenges and its apparatus as well as solve the legal and disputable issues connected with the preterm cessation of powers of the Supreme Kenges.

Clause No 4. This law comes into force from the day of its publishing.

[Signed] The President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Nazarbayev 10 December 1993

#### National Television To Stop Airing Russian Channel

MK1512132593 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 15  
Dec 93 p 5

[Mekhman Gafarly report under the "Kazakhstan" rubric: "People To Be Left Without Russian Television. It Will Be Replaced by Republican Television Company"]

[Text] According to reports received by "Radio Max," the "Kazakhstan" state television and radio company is considering halting the airing of Russian Television

programs starting early 1994. The radio station said, citing competent sources, that the second channel, which is presently reserved for Russian Television, apparently will be turned over to the "Kazakhstan" company for its own programming in Russian. The first channel of Kazakhstani television will air telecasts exclusively in Kazakh.

Local observers think that the possible halt in airing Russian Television has been prompted by the alleged distribution of information aimed against Kazakhstan's sovereignty on it. Well-known campaign statements of Liberal Democratic Party leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy must have been a significant factor in this decision.

It cannot be ruled out that Kazakhstan will soon stop broadcasting programs of the "Ostankino" first channel. By some accounts, chiefs of the "Kazakhstan" state television company are debating whether or not funding should be earmarked for airing this channel's programs next year.

### Kyrgyzstan

#### EC To Allocate 19.2 Million ECU for Kyrgyz Economy

LD1512114193 Bishkek Kyrgyz Radio First Program  
Network in Kyrgyz 0000 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] The EC Commission is to allocate 19.2 million ECU for expert assessments and consultations in order to find priority areas in developing Kyrgyzstan's economy. Under the transition to a market economy, our sovereign republic badly needs help from foreign specialists who have experience in business at various levels, and high-level experts need to be paid a lot of money for their arrival, work, and life in our cities.

#### People's Deputy Interviewed on Budget Problems

LD1512112893 Bishkek Kyrgyz Radio First Program  
Network in Kyrgyz 0000 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] As has already been reported, Abbas Dzhumagulovich Dzhumagulov was appointed prime minister of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan. Today the [parliamentary] session continues its work. Now listen to an interview given by People's Deputy Valentin Korneyevich Yartsev yesterday:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Valentin Korneyevich, the session has been in progress for two weeks already and it has to examine over 120 items on the agenda. What do you think about its tempo?

[Yartsev] The 13th session of the Zhogorku Kenesh turned out to be the most complicated one. We had to devote too much time and attention to the problem with gold which heated the situation, but I think that our best achievement was in the fact that deputies did not split into hostile groupings, and today we can observe consolidation among deputies. I think that today, when it

comes to the appointment of the prime minister, the deputies will reach absolute consensus in tackling this problem.

[Correspondent] One of the items on the agenda concerns the budget of our republic. You have familiarized yourself with the problem. What are the priorities of this budget, what will be given to public education, public health, and other fields? As far as I know, previous budget discussions never paid attention to these problems.

[Yartsev] Deputies will have many claims to this draft budget. The government, in the opinion of many deputies, has not sufficiently elaborated the draft budget. The social sphere, including public education, turned out to be deprived [of budget support]. It is necessary to examine the draft budget together with the taxation laws package—without a clear-cut idea about the government's stand on taxation policy, it is too early today to speak about a well-balanced budget. For this reason, I think that, in contrast to other sessions, this session will examine the budget with regard of other problems.

The thing is that I have talked to some deputies and there is a general feeling that the budget is too centralized again. We need more rights so that rayon, city, and oblast administrations can influence the budget—of course I mean the city of Bishkek as well. Local self-rule bodies need more rights in handling their local budgets. But on the other hand, we have to combat regional egotism when better-off oblasts want to leave more money for themselves rather than to allocate these means to less socially advanced regions. The session will have to balance these discrepancies so that the better-off oblasts can share their wealth, and the republican budget will be able to allocate more means to poorer areas. We should not think only about such big regions as the city of Bishkek or Chu Oblast. We must help the less developed far away regions. [end recording]

#### Government Establishes Statute on Convening Kurultay

LD1612093493 Bishkek Kyrgyz Radio First Program  
Network in Kyrgyz 1700 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Excerpts] A statute of the president of Kyrgyzstan on convening a kurultay of the peoples of Kyrgyzstan. It says: With the aim of strengthening an interethnic accord among people of Kyrgyzstan and taking into consideration the growing spiritual and social requirements of nationalities living in the Republic I decree: First, to support the public's initiative on convening the kurultay of the peoples of Kyrgyzstan in Bishkek from 7 to 8 January 1994 for examining issues of strengthening multi-ethnic accord and friendship among the people of Kyrgyzstan.

Second, to approve in the following composition an organizational committee for carrying out the kurultay of the people of Kyrgyzstan: Rustembekov, the state

secretary under the president and head of the presidential apparatus as its chairman, Aytmatov, people's writer of Kyrgyzstan [passage omitted]

Third, to instruct the organizing committee for carrying out the kurultay of the people of Kyrgyzstan to elaborate the procedure for nominating representatives of public movements, national and cultural centers, associations and funds and for holding the kurultay of the people of Kyrgyzstan.

Fourth, the kurultay of the people of Kyrgyzstan should be financed by sponsors.

[Signed] Kyrgyzstan President Akayev

### Tajikistan

#### UN Representatives Arrive in Gornyy Badakhshan

LD1512191293 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 1200 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] Liviu Bota, the United Nations representative in Tajikistan, Peter (Shummer), the economic program representative of the United Nations in Tajikistan, and Pierre Francois Pirlot, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees representative in Tajikistan, arrived in Badakhshan yesterday.

They met Garibsho Shohbozov, chairman of the oblast soviet of people's deputies, and familiarized themselves with the political and economic situation in the oblast.

#### Russian Guards Fight Armed Groups at Afghan Border

LD1612091493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0840 GMT 16 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostankin]

[Text] Moscow December 16 TASS—Russian border guards prevented armed groups from crossing into Tajikistan from Afghanistan twice in the last twenty-four hours. Both times the guards were forced to open fire.

One armed group, who invaded the 6th frontier post of the Pyandj Border Guard Regiment, retreated only after a three-hour fire fight. There were no wounded among the Russians, ITAR-TASS learned from Colonel Yevgeniy Zamenskiy, spokesman for the Russian border guards' press service.

#### Russian Border Commander Discusses Tajik-Afghan Border

##### Meets With Rakhmanov

LD1512194393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1200 GMT 15 Dec 93

[From the "Novosti" program]

[Text] The further strengthening of the Tajik-Afghan border and material and technical supplies for border forces were discussed today during a meeting between Imamali Rakhmanov, chairman of the Tajik Supreme Soviet, and Colonel General Andrey Nikolayev, commander of Russia's border forces.

[Reporter Alisher Khodzhayev in Tajikistan] The issues that were discussed in the Tajik capital included building and fitting out military compounds and material and technical and issuing cultural provisions for the officers and men at border outposts. This makes it clear that Russian border troops in the Republic take their duties seriously and intend to stay there for a long time.

[Begin recording of Colonel General A. Nikolayev] The main purpose of my visit to Tajikistan was to resolve questions connected with the functioning of the group of border forces and the further strengthening of the border. The second big problem was the prolongation of the Minsk agreement of 22 January 1993 on the allocation of CIS contingents to strengthen the border between the Republic of Tajikistan and the Islamic State of Afghanistan. The initiative for this comes from the Republic of Tajikistan. We are interested in extending this agreement and in further cooperation amongst the commonwealth states in guarding the state border. [end recording]

#### Calls For Reinforcements

LD1512164593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1446 GMT 15 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe December 15 TASS—The situation on the Tajik-Afghan border remains difficult but controllable, according to Andrey Nikolayev, commander of the Russian Frontier Troops.

At the same time, he did not rule out the possibility that the opposition will step up its activities in northern provinces of Afghanistan bordering Tajikistan in the spring and carry out a series of new provocations.

Nikolayev has just returned from the region where he met with Tajik parliament chairman Imamali Rakhmanov and other leaders, as well as the commanders of peace-keeping forces in the Republic to discuss ways to reinforce the Tajik-Afghan border and material and technical support for border outposts.

At the meeting with Rakhmanov, Nikolayev also discussed prospects for extending the Minsk agreement concerning additional measures to stabilize the situation in the republic, including military assistance to ward off an outer aggression against Tajikistan. The agreement expires at the end of December 1993.

Nikolayev also said that an agreement has been reached with Tajik authorities to draft Tajik men to Russian

Border Troops stationed outside Tajikistan. He noted that border outposts in Tajikistan will be reinforced by Russian conscripts.

**Pyankov Sees Likelihood of Hostilities, Wants Talks**

*PM1512145193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Dec 93 First Edition p 6*

[Vladimir Berezovskiy report: "Tajikistan: Border Guards Weary. Talks With Opposition Needed"]

[Text] Tashkent—Colonel General Boris Pyankov, commander of the CIS peacekeeping forces in Tajikistan, thinks that the situation on the border is reminiscent of the lull before the storm. He does not rule out the possibility that guerrilla war will flare up again in the spring with renewed vigor. Sabotage and terror will be particularly "popular" with the armed opposition. Like, for instance, the recent blasting of the Termez-Kurgan-Tyube railroad. Their aim is obvious—to probe the Tajik Army and find vulnerable links. The peacekeeping forces have also come "under surveillance." According to military counterintelligence, the Tajik opposition is trying to determine the troop units' disposition, equipment, and arms.

Boris Pyankov said that several major gangs have infiltrated the region of the Garm gorges.

He sees talks with the opposition as the solution to the deadlock. However, the command of the peacekeeping forces does not have a mandate for this. The collective peacekeeping forces simply have to mediate in the talks since both sides, "blinded by the rage, pain, and blood of the recent civil war, cannot at the moment be absolutely calm and objective."

In the immediate future the peacekeeping forces will hold planned combat battalion exercises.

**Council of Ministers Presidium Holds Session 14 Dec**

*LD1512185693 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Russian 0400 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Excerpt] A session of the Council of Ministers Presidium of the Republic took place yesterday [14

December] under the chairmanship of Abdumalik Abdullojonov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Tajikistan.

The issues related to cadres was discussed at the session. Nurmatov has been appointed as president of the Khizmat (Service) Concern, Mikirpichev, as first deputy [of the Khizmat Concern], and Mahmudov, as deputy minister of rural construction of the Republic of Tajikistan.

Similarly, the draft laws of the Republic of Tajikistan on taxation and on value added tax from enterprises and organizations, which were submitted to the Supreme Council Presidium of the Republic, were discussed.

Agreements between the government of the Republic of Tajikistan and the government of the Hungarian People's Republic on trade and economic ties, on further measures regarding blockade warnings, and on collective peace-keeping forces, and measures on their material and technical provision were ratified at the session. [passage omitted]

**Rakhmanov Sends Congratulations to Kazakh Leader**

*LD1512173893 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Russian 1000 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Text] Imamali Rakhmanov, the head of state and chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Tajikistan, has sent a message to Nursultan Nazarbayev, the president of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

The message says: Dear Nursultan Abishevich, for me it is a great pleasure, on behalf of the leadership of Tajikistan, on behalf of the Tajik people, and on behalf of myself to send to you and to the whole people of Kazakhstan my sincere congratulations and best wishes on the occasion of the national holiday, the Independence Day of Kazakhstan.

We are confident that the basis for traditional friendship and beneficial cooperation that has been laid between our nations, will be further developed for the benefits of the peoples of the two states.



## Armenia

### Azerbaijani Long-Range Shelling Reported

NC1512153293 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First  
Program Network in Armenian 1400 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] The situation continues to remain tense on Karabakh's southeastern battle front. The Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] Defense Army headquarters reported that the Azerbaijani armed formations, having suffered defeats during their attacks in recent days and having been thrown back to their original positions, are trying to compensate for their failures by engaging in long-range shelling of the Karabakh defensive positions with various types of arms.

The NKR Defense Army subunits are returning the fire and are suppressing the enemy's firing positions.

According to preliminary reports, there have been no casualties on the Karabakh side since midnight in the exchange of fire between the two positions.

The Armenian Defense Ministry's press service reported that the Azerbaijani Army resumed its aggressive operations against the borders of Idzhevanskiy and Noyemberyanskiy Rayons last night. The enemy used armored cars, howitzers, and machine guns to open fire on the defensive positions around Azatamut in Idzhevanskiy Rayon between 1630 and 1700. Positions around Diran were also fired on for an hour. People were killed in Azatamut. Two tank shells were fired on Voskevan in Noyemberyanskiy Rayon at 2000. There was no damage.

The Nakhichevan armed formations also disturbed the peace on Armenia's borders last night between 1900 and 1920. The enemy opened fire on defensive positions around Yeraskhavan in Araratskiy Rayon using machine guns and automatic weapons. There were no casualties.

Adhering to the unilaterally declared cease-fire, the Armenian border guards did not retaliate on the front lines in Noyemberyanskiy, Idzhevanskiy, and Araratskiy Rayons.

### Foreign Minister Views Azerbaijani 'Intentions'

NC1612101593 Yerevan SNARK in English 1245 GMT  
15 Dec 93

[Text] Yerevan, December 15 (SNARK)—Today Arkadiy Gukasyan, the Karabakh minister of foreign affairs, came to Yerevan with one-day visit.

Today he met with the foreign ambassadors. The meetings were of non-official character. There were spoken the situation existing in the region and the ways to the peaceful solution of the conflict.

Arkadiy Gukasyan expressed his anxiety with the military psychosis spiraled by the official Baku. It testifies that Baku is on the intentions to solve the problem using only force methods. The fact that Azerbaijan didn't accept the "schedule of the extraordinary measures" offered by the CSCE

Minsk group on the solution of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem proves the Baku's intentions.

### Interior Minister States Confidence in Bagratyan Government

NC1612102393 Yerevan SNARK in English 1129 GMT  
15 Dec 93

[Text] Yerevan, December 15 (SNARK)—The Armenian Internal Affairs Minister Vanik Siradegyan spoke against the changes in the Armenian Government. "If there exists any way out of the crisis Armenia lives in, the Grant Bagratyan's government is able to find it", said Vanik Siradegyan to the SNARK's reporter.

He also mentioned that the internal troops are not ever going to stand against the people if the unrest actions take place. "But it doesn't mean that we won't stop the law violations", Siradegyan said.

### President Lifts Import Restrictions, VAT on Foodstuffs

NC1512165593 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First  
Program Network in Armenian 1400 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] We just received the following statement from the Armenian presidential press service. The statement says: Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan today issued a decree on Additional Measures To Create Beneficial Conditions for the Import and Sale of Foodstuffs in Armenia, with the aim of facilitating the import and sale of foodstuffs and fuel in Armenia as much as possible.

The decree instructs the Armenian Government to cooperate with the Armenian Central Bank within five days in examining the issue of reconsidering the temporary [words indistinct] cash sales and transactions.

The State Taxation Directorate has been instructed to extend the Armenian Government's 26 November 1993 decision on exempting some types of foodstuffs and children's goods being sold to the Armenian population from the value-added tax to urgently needed goods that are being produced in Armenia or imported, as well as to the retail and wholesale trade, and to completely lift restrictions on imported goods and the value-added tax on their purchase and sale.

The Armenian Government has been instructed to take measures over the next three days to prevent the creation of any artificial restrictions at Zvartnots and Yerevan airports with regard to the landing of freight planes in the Republic, the organization of their flights, and the import of foodstuffs and other merchandise.

The decree prohibits, as of 20 December 1993, any executive body from searching the organizations importing and procuring foodstuffs for the Republic, regardless of their ownership, without special permission from the Armenian Government.

The Inspection Service, which is attached to the Armenian president's office, has been instructed to prepare a report every two weeks on the progress of the implementation of this decree.

The full text of the decree will be published in HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTYUN paper.

### Azerbaijan

#### Iran Considered 'Biggest Trade Partner'

LD1512220693 Tehran IRNA in English 1939 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] Astara (Guilan Prov.), Dec. 15, IRNA—Iran's ambassador to Baku, 'Ali Akbar Nehavandian said here today that the Islamic Republic of Iran is the biggest trade partner of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

He said that trade with Azerbaijan Republic comprised 47.5 percent of Iran's trade with the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). "Iran's trade with the newly-independent states of the former Soviet Union amounted to dlrs. 800 million last year, up by 9.5 percent compared with the last year," he said.

Nehavandian added that in the past eight months, Iran imported 430,000 tons of Azeri goods by land through the northern border city of Astara.

Referring to the deep affection of Azeris for the household of Prophet Mohammad (pbuh) he said that the Azeris were interested to take a pilgrimage to the holy shrine of Imam Reza (pbuh) in Mashhad, Khorasan. He added that Iranian mission in Baku issued 500 visas a day for the Azeri Muslims.

#### Agreement To Be Signed With Israel Soon

NC1612101693 Yerevan SNARK in English 1132 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] Baku, December 15 (SNARK)—In the nearest future Azerbaijan and Israel are going to conclude the agreement on the scientific exchange and culture cooperation, Eliezer Lotvat [name as received], the Israel representative to Azerbaijan, told TURAN. He also mentioned that the agreement will be signed by the foreign affairs ministers of both states.

Speaking on the results of the Israel official delegation visit to Azerbaijan two weeks ago, Mr. Lotvat said that "We're content with the results of the undertaken negotiations". It was just the first step, the further steps will be of more importance. According to him, the perspectives of the Azerbaijani-Israel relations have future and both states will have profit of the relations. Israel is ready to offer the agriculture and food products technology, organize the specialists training, supply with "know how".

Commenting on the Azerbaijani-Armenian conflict, Eliezer Lotvat said that Israel considers Nagorno-Karabakh an unseparated part of Azerbaijan. He speaks for the immediate setting free of the occupied territories.

The Israel representative denied the reports of the foreign mass media on the fact that Israel supplies Azerbaijan with weapons and trains Azerbaijani military specialists. "We're deeply interested in good relations with all the states, that's why we're not going to interfere the military conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan", said Mr. Lotvat.

#### Communist Party Reconstituted, Program Outlined

PM1512171793 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 1

[Report by Zaur Kadymbekov: "Azerbaijan: Communist Party Returns"]

[Text] Baku—The Azerbaijani Communist Party has held its restorative-constituent congress in Baku's Palace of Labor. It was a modest, businesslike affair. Some 158 delegates assembled from cities and regions of the republic, where the party has so far resumed its work at organizational committee level. The congress received cables of support and congratulations from Russian communist parties and Georgian communists.

Why is this congress called both a restorative and a constituent congress? On the one hand, the keynote speech and the delegates' speeches pointed out that the reviving Communist Party is the rightful heir of the republic party organization that was illegally disbanded two years ago and, on the other, today's communists resolutely reject the old nomenklatura, which betrayed the party at a difficult time, and renounce its deviations from program aims and the demands of the rules. Significantly it is mainly rank-and-file communists that have come to lead the renewed organization.

The congress participants defined the party's main task as being to build an independent democratic state and noted that the Communist Party must be the reliable mainstay of the working people—workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia—and all honest people whose activity has no connection with human exploitation.

It was repeatedly stated from the rostrum that the reconstituted organization will still be a party of internationalists and express and will defend the interests of representatives of all nationalities and small ethnic groups resident in the republic. The Communists believe that any appeals and actions that may cause society to split on ethnic grounds are inadmissible. In this connection opinions were voiced regarding the importance of restoring fraternal relations with Russia and Russian communists. This idea was confirmed in a speech by Kagraman Askerov, a war veteran, a party member of 50 years' standing, and chairman of the Gindzhi City Veterans' Council, who spent the whole war fighting in a guerrilla detachment in the bogs of Belarus.

"Can I forget," he said. "Kolya Yefimov or Grisha Demidov, my buddies in the special brigade sent with me to the enemy rear? Can I betray brotherhood sealed in blood? No power will compel me to take that step. Speaking from this rostrum I would like to once again back our party's course of reviving internationalist communist traditions and restoring the close, friendly ties with the peoples of Russia and the former union republics."

The report delivered by party leader Ramiz Akhmedov, along with the party's program documents, particularly pointed out that the party will strive to attain its objectives by political methods and parliamentary means alone, strictly abiding by the Constitution and the laws of the republic, which is now experiencing a time of trouble and transition.

After the anticommunist wave subsided in Azerbaijan many people seemed to come to their senses and realize that life had been far better under the overthrown, besmirched Communists—free apartments were handed out and medical services and vouchers to sanatoriums and recreation homes did not cost a kopek. And the Soviet trade union largely paid for pioneer camps. Prices of all goods were incomparably lower. And, most importantly, there was no fighting, people were not killed, and civilians did not become migrants on their own territory, roving the whole country. Realization of this simple truth brought two refugees from Lachinskiy Rayon to the congress. During the recess between sessions they approached delegates and said that they had come to ask the communists for help. From force of habit, remembering the time when everyone could find truth, justice, and protection at the raykom [party rayon committee]. Such sentiments and incidents also served as a powerful argument in favor of reviving the republic's Communist Party.

The program approved by the delegates envisages a broad range of actions in the sphere of politics, the economy, interethnic relations, the social sphere, science, and culture. The first steps being to freeze and establish state control of food prices. Communists think it possible to revert to an affordable and free medical service, build housing for the needy, and provide social security that enables veterans to lead a fitting life.

The congress ratified the Program and Rules of the renewed Communist Party, which now numbers over 3,000 members, and elected the leadership. Party leader Ramiz Akhmedov was elected chairman of the Communist Party's Executive Committee.

#### Manat Only Legal Tender Starting 15 Dec

NC1512191893 Baku AZERTAC in English 1359 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] Baku, December 15 (AZERTAC)—From today on, banknotes of the former USSR are being taken out of circulation in accordance with the presidents' decree. From January 1994, manat will be the only legal tender in Azerbaijan. The decree is adopted in order to defend domestic market and simplify accounting and payment

in banking. According to the National Bank of Azerbaijan, the recent shortage of cash has been the reason for leaving about half a billion Soviet banknotes (1, 3, 5 and 10-ruble bonds) in circulation.

### Georgia

#### Shevardnadze, Brzezinski Exchange Views

LD1512165593 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1400 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] According to CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY, after an inaugural meeting at the Institute of Oriental Studies, former U.S. Presidential adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski paid a visit to the Georgian head of state, Eduard Shevardnadze. During the conversation Mr. Brzezinski and Mr. Shevardnadze touched on a wide range of problems.

First, the Georgian head of state thanked the visitor for arriving in Georgia and said that a visit to Georgia by one of the great authorities of U.S. policy during this period which is so difficult for our country, is a significant event in the life of the country.

For his part, Mr. Brzezinski pointed out the high respect Mr. Shevardnadze has earned in the United States as one of the outstanding figures in modern politics. He said he is convinced that, despite difficulties which are very well known to him, Georgia will be able to follow to the end the democratic course it has chosen.

In this respect the sides emphasized the great importance of current processes in Russia for newly established independent republics. They gave a positive appraisal of the adoption of a new constitution and the holding of democratic elections in Russia. However, the sides agreed that they expected the beginning of a rather complex stage in Russia's development.

It was indicated that the United States is capable of giving serious help for both strengthening democratic processes and settling ethnic conflicts. Moreover, this country will continue to support the United Nations as the principal factor of power balance in the world.

In conclusion, Mr. Brzezinski said that he will use all means to bring to the knowledge of the U.S. Government Eduard Shevardnadze's attitude toward current processes in the world, because in his view it is very important.

#### UN Seminar on Refugees Starts in Tbilisi

LD1612093793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0600 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] In Tbilisi an international seminar of the UN supreme commissariat on refugee issues has started. Taking part in it are members of staff from foreign embassies in Georgia and the heads of a number of ministries as well as of public organizations in the Republic.

### Shevardnadze Addresses Seminar

*LD1512222193 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1400 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Text] A UN seminar opened today in the conference hall of the Metechi Hotel in Tbilisi. Diplomats representing foreign embassies in Georgia and leading officials from the Republic's ministries, agencies, and public organizations are taking part in the seminar. The participants were greeted by Fedor Starchevich, UN envoy to Georgia. An introductory speech was delivered by [name indistinct] Rahman, chief representative of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

The seminar was addressed by Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian parliament and head of state. He said in particular:

[Begin Shevardnadze recording] The effects of the conflict in Abkhazia have spread beyond its borders. The world community has shown understanding and compassion with the plight of the region's population. The war produced a new type of refugee - people who have become foreigners in their own land. I am pinning high hopes on this seminar and on assistance for the refugees from the UN High Commission for Refugees and appropriate structures in various countries of the world. The refugees must return to their homes.

We are very grateful to everyone who has helped us at this most difficult time for our republic and who is still ready to support us. The world community's contribution to help Georgia will not be wasted, the Georgian head of state stressed. The time will come when Georgia will return 10-fold the effort put out to support it. [end recording]

A representative of the High Commissioner for Refugees, Irene Knoben, thanked the audience for taking part in the work of the seminar and said that it would contribute to solving problems.

This was followed by a discussion.

In an interview with our correspondent the chief representative of the High Commissioner for Refugees said it was the first such seminar held in Georgia. It must find ways to help the refugees return to their permanent places of residence. It is planned to hold similar meetings in Kutaisi, Batumi, Gori, and other Georgian cities.

### Gamsakhurdia in Hiding; Abandoned by Supporters

*LD1512181493 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1120 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Text] Tbilisi, 15 Dec—An IBERIA correspondent has learned that Zviad Gamsakhurdia still remains in his bodyguard's house in a village in Svaneti [mountainous region in northwestern Georgia]. Several dozen of his armed supporters are also staying in the village.

According to reliable sources, Gamsakhurdia has finally been abandoned by his commander-in-chief, Vakhtang

Kobalia. The ex-president has branded him a Shevardnadze agent because Kobalia was against a march on Tbilisi and demanded that the conflict between Georgians be settled peacefully. Rumors claiming that Kobalia is staying in Abkhaz militants' headquarters on the territory of Gali rayon have not been confirmed.

Gamsakhurdia supporters are leaving the woods and laying down arms en masse. A final stabilization in Samegrelo [Mingrelia] is being delayed by a complex crime situation and popular anxiety over the activity of bandits within the ranks of government troops.

### Abkhaz Parliament Forms Government

*LD1512215893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1412 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Text] The Abkhazian Parliament has formed the Republic's government.

Interfax has been told by Chairman of the Abkhazian Council of Ministers Sokrat Jindjolia that the government consists of 37 ministries and departments. Such a large government, he said, is a measure dictated by the need to restore the war-devastated economy. However, as soon as the new Constitution is adopted and the privatization campaign begins, said the prime minister, the number of ministries will be reduced to a minimum.

Earlier Jindjolia was Speaker of the Abkhazian Parliament. He is the chief negotiator at the talks with Georgia.

### Georgians Return to Village on Abkhazian Border

*LD1512202093 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1400 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Text] Zugdidi Governor Edisher Chargazia has told us that an important event has occurred in the life of the rayon. The native Georgian population of Ganarjiis Mukhuri have returned to their houses in this village on the other side of the Inguri River. They were welcomed by their fellow Abkhazian villagers. Tomorrow a new local governor who is a native of the village will be sent to Ganarjiis Mukhuri. It means that normal life will be restored in Ganarjiis Mukhuri.

### Tension Mounting in South Ossetia After Four Killed

*LD1512121893 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1120 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Text] Tbilisi, 15 Dec—IBERIA has learned that the situation in Shida Kartli [South Ossetia] is again becoming tense. Unidentified individuals have killed four citizens of Ossetian nationality, two of whom were burned in a car, while the other two were found dead in a grove. Representatives of the tripartite [Russian-Georgian-Ossetian] commission are trying to ease the tension. The fact is that the presence of Russian troops is easing the build-up of tension.



**Estonia****Laar Outlines Preparations for Joining GATT***WS1512120793 Tallinn BNS in English 1906 GMT 14 Dec 93*

[Text] Tallinn, Dec 14, BNS—Estonia is planning to join the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade [GATT], Prime Minister Mart Laar said in a press conference after today's meeting of the Cabinet.

Preparations for this are under way at the Foreign Ministry's department for foreign economic policy, and Estonia is also getting great support from the World Bank, Laar said. He added that joining the GATT would give the country better opportunities to sell its goods in other countries.

The Foreign Ministry is collecting and analysing data on Estonia's economic situation and is observing the developments connected with GATT, Priit Pallum, adviser at the ministry, told BNS.

After a survey of the country's economy is ready and confirmed by the government, it will be sent to the GATT Commission, which will distribute it to the GATT member countries. After that discussions will take place, and if everything goes well, Estonia may become a full member within about a year, Pallum said.

But he added that it may still take the ministry several months to collect the big volume of data required for the application.

**Minister Discusses Agreements With Bulgaria***WS1612102293 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 2001 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Text] Tallinn, December 15—Estonian Minister of Foreign Affairs Trivimi Velliste, who returned from a state visit to Bulgaria, on Wednesday [15 December], told ETA that several agreements, e.g. frame agreement of relations, economic cooperation agreement, investments protection agreement and medical service agreement had been agreed upon between Estonia and Bulgaria.

Velliste said that the states planned to sign a consular convention. At present, visa-free travelling exists between Estonia and Bulgaria but it has to be concluded into an official agreement. He added that many of the texts of the agreements were principally ready and could be signed in the nearest future.

Velliste said that a visit of Bulgarian businessmen to Estonia was prepared and tourism and transport cooperation discussed, mentioning an airline between Tallinn and Sofia and Via Baltica project, which could be lengthened towards south, through Bulgaria and Rumania to Turkey and Greece.

During his visit, Velliste had meetings with Bulgarian President Zheljo Zhelev, Prime Minister Ljuben Berov, Minister of Foreign Affairs Stanislav Daskalov and other officials.

**New Interior Minister Takes Oath of Office***WS1612101493 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1736 GMT 25 Dec 93*

[Text] Tallinn, December 15—Estonia's new Interior Minister, Heiki Arike, took an oath of office before Riigikogu [parliament] on Wednesday [15 December].

Arike (28) who has thus far worked as vice-chancellor of the Interior Ministry, was the choice of the coalition Estonian National Independence Party whom the Interior Minister's portfolio belongs under coalition agreement.

Arike is a graduate of the Estonian Agricultural Academy. He has also worked in the Police Prefecture in Tartu.

Arike does not belong to any political parties, but once was a member of the former Soviet Union's Communist Party.

**Government Approves Draft of New Language Law***WS1512114993 Tallinn BNS in English 1827 GMT 14 Dec 93*

[Text] Tallinn, December 14—Estonia's government at its session on Tuesday [14 December] approved the draft of the country's new language law, Prime Minister Mart Laar told a government briefing on Tuesday.

Under the draft, the official language of the country will be Estonian while all other languages will be treated as foreign languages.

The official language of all state institutions, local self-governments and courts will be Estonian while all institutions must guarantee management of official business, communication and intra-state reporting in Estonian. The language of the country's Defence Forces will be Estonian.

Everyone has the right to settle their business at state institutions, local self-governments, cultural self-governments and other institutions in Estonian. All institutions, enterprises and organisations must guarantee their employees information concerning their work in Estonian and the possibility to present documentation in Estonian language.

Under the draft, local self-government units at places where Estonian language is not the mother tongue of the majority of residents will be allowed to use the language of the majority in internal communication after a proposition by the local council and following approval by Estonia's Government. It does not apply to Tallinn, the government's press office said.

At the same time, those self-governments must use Estonian in communicating with state institutions and self-governments which use Estonian language. All official seals, forms and announcements must be in Estonian. A translation into another language may be added provided the Estonian-language text comes first.

The draft will be sent for expert opinion to the Council of Europe and will then be handled by the Riigikogu [parliament], Laar said.

#### **Parliament Discusses Israeli Arms Deal**

*WS1612101993 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1736 GMT 25 Dec 93*

[Text] Tallinn, December 15—Estonia's parliament on Wednesday [15 December] started the second reading of the law on ratifying an arms deal between Estonia's Government and company TAAS Israel Industries Ltd. The parliament voted to discuss the issue behind closed doors with 48 votes in the affirmative, nine against and ten abstentions.

The deal concluded on January 7, 1993 brought about accusations that it cost the country too much and should have first been ratified by the parliament.

Rein Helme, the head of Riigikogu's [parliament] state defence committee, said after the first reading that the initial cost of the deal had been \$49 million, but together with dividends and bills to be honoured it came to \$69 million.

The arms are to reach Estonia at the end of 1995 while dividends must be paid by 2000. The schedule of arms delivery is kept secret.

#### **Sweden To Extend More Aid to Defense Forces**

*WS1512123293 Tallinn BNS in English 1906 GMT 14 Dec 93*

[Text] Tallinn, Dec 14, BNS—Sweden is going to increase its aid to the Estonian defense forces, Estonian Defense Minister Juri Luik said today.

The defense minister was speaking to reporters after returning from Stockholm, where he had talks with his Swedish counterpart Anders Bjorck.

Luik said Estonian cadets will have the opportunity to attend cadet schools in Sweden. Some of the officers after successfully finishing their training may be taking officers' positions with the Baltic peacekeeping battalion, to be set up under the U.N. force. It is not clear yet how many Estonians are to be trained in Sweden, he added.

At present, mainly Finland is helping Estonia to prepare its officer staff.

Commenting on a statement by the Swedish leadership on Sweden not going to remain unconcerned, if a conflict emerged between Russia and the Baltics, Luik said

nobody had explained so far what Sweden's concern in such affair would consist of.

"In the general opinion, this statement means no military intervention. It may comprise aid in the form of sending volunteers, some arms shipments, and other similar things," Luik said.

Speaking about the results of Russia's parliamentary elections, Luik said the developments in Russia and their possible effects on the Baltic states, but also on Finland and Sweden, were being observed "with deep concern" in Sweden.

Luik said relations between Russia and the Baltics and the election outcome in Russia had been also under discussion at his meeting with Lars-Ake Nilsson, secretary of the Swedish Foreign Ministry, on Monday [13 December].

#### **Kroon's Rate Forecast Not To Change for 2 Years**

*WS1612105693 Tallinn BNS in English 1609 GMT 15 Dec 93*

[Text] Tallinn, Dec 15, BNS—The fixed exchange rate of Estonia's national currency to the German mark is not likely to change in the next two years, experts say in the latest forecast of the country's economy.

The survey, prepared by the Institute of Economics of the Estonian Academy of Sciences, says that the current fixed exchange rate of 8 kroons to the mark provides a sufficient purchasing power parity reserve for a few more years.

The forecast says that inflation rates in Estonia will continue to fall, but are still to remain higher than in most industrial countries. Estimates show the annual inflation rate is to drop to 25 percent next year, and further to 15-20 percent in 1995. The main cause of the higher-than-average inflation rates in the country is the prices moving toward the world market level and a subsequent rise in wages.

Experts say it is not the country's main task to put effort into achieving a minimum inflation, which would just make the period of adaption to world market prices too long. But Estonia must see to it that inflation remained higher on the offering side and avoid huge deficits in its balance of payments. It is also important that the country's economy remained open. Not to be left without attention is the level of income in the closed (non-competing) sector of the economy, the survey says.

The experts say there also exists another option, when the nominal wage level would remain the same with a simultaneous gradual revaluation of the kroon. This would keep the prices of domestic products stable, at the same time when imported goods become cheaper and inflation remains low.

Such an approach would have a similar effect on the economy as the inflationary method: the proportion of

prices would remain the same and no major changes would occur in foreign trade.

But setting the kroon's exchange rate free would give almost all the levers of economic policy into the hands of the central bank. The central bank through determining the exchange rate would exercise both the price and the income policy.

Experts say it is impossible for political reasons to gather so big powers into the hands of the central bank, as the current government of politicians simply wouldn't allow this.

### Latvia

#### U.S. Response to Note on Violations Awaited

WS1612112293 Riga LETA in English 1149 GMT 15 Dec 93

[From the "Latvian Press Review"]

[Text] Riga, December 15 (LETA)—"DIENA" wrote that the Latvian Embassy in Washington had yet not received the answer to the note of the Latvian Foreign Ministry handed to the U.S. State Department on December 2. The message asked to explain the meaning of a statement made by the U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher at the CSCE Ministerial meeting in Rome. He said that Latvia was one of the states where Council of Security and Cooperation in Europe had deployed its missions to prevent conflicts and expressive violence. Besides, Christopher also said that the head of CSCE mission in Latvia was working in hard and dangerous circumstances. In the letter the Latvian Foreign Ministry voiced its perplexity over such comments as the CSCE mission to Latvia had started its work only recently, and earlier both the U.S. President Bill Clinton and the Secretary of State Christopher had declared that there were no human right violations in Latvia.

#### Appeal To Create Union of Non-Citizens Published

WS1612112793 Riga LETA in English 1149 GMT 15 Dec 93

[From the "Latvian Press Review"]

[Text] Riga, December 15 (LETA)—The Russian-language paper "SM-SEGODNA" had published an appeal prepared by initiative group aimed to create a union of non-citizens in Latvia. The appeal said that Latvia was the only post-communist European state failing to resolve the legal status problems of all its residents. Hundred thousands of people who have been living in Latvia for years or even born there have neither citizenship nor possibility to get it in principle, claimed the document.

#### 'Balanced Budget' for Fiscal Year Approved

WS1612104993 Tallinn BNS in English 1609 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] Riga, Dec 15, BNS—The Latvian Cabinet adopted a balanced budget plan for the next fiscal year, Prime Minister Valdis Birkavs said Tuesday [14 December].

Under the plan, the state budget will earn 526.1 million lats and spend 565.4 million lats in 1994. The planned deficit is 39.3 million lats.

The budget sets two main priorities, the social maintenance and the continuation of reforms, Birkavs said.

The government also did all it could to meet its promise to the country's farmers by granting them 6 million lats in agricultural subsidies, the premier noted.

The Cabinet fixed the untaxable minimum wage at 25 lats. It also plans to narrow the difference between this untaxable minimum, the minimum wage and the subsistence minimum.

Finance Minister Uldis Osis described the next year's budget as basically different from previous budgets because it "provides an instrument to develop the economy instead of dividing the national income." The country's GNP will rise 5 percent in 1994, Osis predicted.

Budget Minister Janis Platais said the draft was "a complicated technical document."

The Finance Ministry pledged to provide a more detailed explanation of the plan soon.

As reported, the parliament will start looking through the budget plan in its Jan. 13 plenary session.

### Lithuania

#### Brazauskas Approves Amended Citizenship Law

WS1512120493 Tallinn BNS in English 1906 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Vilnius, Dec 14, BNS—Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas approved Tuesday [14 December] the amended citizenship law that considerably simplifies citizenship restoration for citizens of the pre-war Lithuania and their children.

According to the Lithuanian Constitution, a law comes into effect after it is approved by the president and is publicly announced.

According to the new law, Lithuanian citizenship can now be restored to ethnic Lithuanians, who had Lithuanian citizenship before June 15, 1940, to their children, other people who had Lithuanian citizenship prior to the date and people who were exiled or emigrated from Lithuania in the period from June 15, 1940 to March 11, 1990 and continue to reside in other countries.

Commenting on the law on Lithuanian radio Monday, Brazauskas noted that citizenship can now be regained not only by native Lithuanians, but by people of other nationalities, as well. "We cannot grant privileges to one specific nation."

#### Deputy Chief Denies LDDP Autocratic Rule

WS1512131593 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 20 Nov 93 No. 226 p 5

[Article by LDDP First Deputy Chairman Gediminas Kirkilas: "Who Rules Lithuania? The Anatomy of Political Ambitions"]

[Text] This question has been a constant motto of the left-wing press, Seimas deputies, and some of their political writings. The rhetorical "Who rules Lithuania?" question often ends addresses of talented orators accusing the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party [LDDP], or publications of those reporters who missed the government train.

One should not look for the reply between the lines or in a jumble of metaphors and suggestions. It is as simple as all "great" truths—Lithuania is ruled by the "bad" commercial banks, the Mafia, or the "Soviet party nomenklatura" who have divided the assets among themselves. This, undoubtedly, fully satisfies "patriotic" Philistines who are settled somewhere in the bureaucratic government machine and who curse the authorities for "small" salaries, so that they can continue to take bribes with a clear conscience by delaying the immediate matters.... Certainly, these are not bribes. It is just something that poor bureaucrats add to their salaries.

The political implication of this question (particularly from the viewpoint of the right-wing opposition) is the following: "The LDDP is incapable of ruling the country, therefore, early elections are vital." To speed up the latter, there must be more strikes, protests, and rallies. One can even rent a bus in order to rally as many people as possible.... Maybe, it is even possible to hire some of these protesters who often forget "pensions" and other demands because they are unable to hide their opposition to the LDDP.

True, the right-wing opposition is quite controversial. For example, it claims that the LDDP is a sole and autocratic ruler that appoints its own people to all posts, and so on. The opposition says that the LDDP is very perfidious, and one or another of its wiser members warns his or her colleagues of the silly division and the lack of unity and discipline. However, I think that not a single person among them has ever been disloyal to the leaders....

The overall criticism of the LDDP by raising actually one simple question (who rules Lithuania?) is an obvious inability of all other parties to cooperate under multi-party conditions even in the opposition. This also means a complete lack of self-criticism. The voters have been accused for their choice in one or another manner by all

parties—from the third Sajudis to the liberals. True, some of them did that crudely, while others were more subtle.

The LDDP proposed cooperation even before the Seimas elections, when it did not yet know the results. It did the same right after the ballot. However, all parties would refuse to cooperate by saying most often that they could not work together with the "former Communists" (as though there were no such people among them). By this they only tried to cover their responsibility for the country's crisis and future, and their own fear, and chose "criticism from aside" looking forward to the LDDP's collapse. After the emergence of the first signs of economic and social stabilization, the pre-election political ambitions have revived again because the predictions and expectations did not come true. Even the liberals, whose nature and mentality should stipulate at least an intelligent style of criticism, call our party a "clan" (see I. Melianas' article in 18 November issue of LIETUVOS RYTAS). I will not berate the author's hackneyed arguments. I would only like to ask: Has the LDDP ever used a similar vocabulary to criticize the liberals and other parties? Has it ever accused them of "ruining the multi-party system and the formation of the citizens' community," and so on? By the way, we have never spoken out for a two-party system or against the "creation of the middle class."

I have never heard of a "clan" ruling after multi-party elections in a country with the constitution, the Constitutional Court, the free press, and the division of powers. The facts that the LDDP has the majority in the legislature, that it has formed the government and won the presidential elections, leave no basis for speculations about autocracy, the more so that all other parties have refused a coalition with the LDDP or cooperation with it on some other basis.

However, let us return to the question "Who rules Lithuania?" From the viewpoint of a political scientist, the authors of such questions appear as... totalitarian thinkers. It is under a totalitarian rule (which is also not always the case) that one can name an absolute ruler—that is, a person who adopts arbitrary decisions. For example, this may be some general secretary, dictator, or king. In a democratic system, the government is pluralistic, that is, each structure has its rights and limited powers. In a developed democratic system, the community participates in the government in one or another way, at least by having the right to express its will and choose a relevant political force through elections.

I will remind everyone that the Seimas elections in Lithuania were held based on the lists of 17 parties. One third of their representatives are sitting in the legislature today. The Lithuanian president was also elected from two candidates. By the way, A. Brazauskas represented a specific party, while his rival S. Lozoraitis—a relatively amorphous and ideologically complicated coalition of the rightist, centrist, and leftist forces. I would like to remind Mr. I. Melianas that the Lithuanian liberals also



participated in this coalition, and by this helped strengthen a peculiar two-party system which he is so aggressively and illiberally criticizing today.

Thus, Lithuania is ruled by the Seimas, the Government, and the courts, as well as by the free press (to the extent of its influence) and the structures of the citizens' community. Their authority and powers are defined by the Constitution, which we adopted in a referendum, and the law. The Constitutional Court, which is a nonpolitical and independent structure at least due to its different term of office compared to those of the Seimas and the president, regulates conflicts between powers and interprets their authorities.

To put it simply, there is no person in our state who would enjoy absolute power or would not be controlled by other powers. From the scientific point of view, this is a democratic system. Another issue is the efficiency of such powers and the perfection of our law enforcement, and so on. There is no need to mystify the power issue and mislead people.

I am repeatedly asking myself why our political life lacks a normal and efficient discussion, and why our political strife is so intolerant and brutal.

The LDDP is making mistakes. However, it is the errors that our opponents fail to notice. Engaged in the overall criticism of the LDDP, they fail to spot both our correct and incorrect moves. They also try to mystify, confuse, or explain everything by the LDDP's past—they try to stress their own "different," that is, better, past. Like the aforementioned liberal I. Melianas, our opponents may also impose dull handbook patterns on our political life.

As a politician of the former opposition, I could advise from my experience that the discrediting criticism of opponents primarily discredits the critics themselves. The political suitcase is packed constructively and not destructively. This is being done at a particularly difficult time for our country. Therefore, I do not doubt that the voters will justly assess all parties and, first of all,

their positive contribution, projects, and proposals in the next elections. They will also evaluate political tolerance that always has been and will be important for the Lithuanian people.

#### **Minister Says IMF Wants Stronger Litas**

*WS1512123393 Tallinn BNS in English 1906 GMT 14 Dec 93*

[Text] Vilnius, Dec 14, BNS—The International Monetary Fund (IMF) pressures Lithuania to set an exchange rate of 3.5 litas to the U.S. dollar, said Kazimieras Klimasauskas, Lithuanian industry and trade minister.

Meanwhile, the current rate of 3.9 litas to the dollar is already disastrous to Lithuanian exporters. A number of producers begin to face bankruptcy because they sell goods for hard currency, which is later converted back into litas with considerable losses.

When the litas was introduced last summer, its exchange rate was expected to settle down at around 4.3 litas to the dollar. Lithuanian currency is considered tied to a basket of several hard currencies, but intentions to peg the litas to one specific currency, the U.S. dollar or the German mark, are currently under discussion. Klimasauskas said the dollar would be more suitable.

A high-ranking IMF mission came to Lithuania last week and will reportedly continue work until Christmas. The aim of the visit is to hold final consultation on pegging down the litas. The fund has not announced its attitude toward the problem yet.

The IMF "does not approve the increasing export from Lithuanian enterprise to the West", the RESPUBLIKA newspaper said with reference to Klimasauskas.

Although information about Lithuania's foreign trade has become inaccessible lately, the minister said export increased by 5 million litas in the third quarter of this year and exceeded last year's entire volume.